Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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FBIS-SOV-95-242 *18 December 1995*

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Key Results

Dec 15 - Final Minutes of Election Campaign

Lebed, Skokov Interviewed

LD1612000395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1830 GMT on 15 December broadcasts a 30-minute election slot by the Congress of Russian Communities, represented by Yuriy Skokov and Lieutenant General Aleksandr Lebed. After the opening pleasantries, studio host Yuliy Semenov invites listeners to phone in with their questions and then asked Gen Lebed to start the program with an important announcement.

Lebed says: "I have to make a statement as follows. Under a ruling by The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, an Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed — my full name — has been removed from the list of candidates for the State Duma advanced by the Dzhuna Davitashvili bloc. Here is the telegram issued by the relevant electoral commission. However, only the number of that bloc is given, No 34. Judging from telephone calls we have been receiving, this is being interpreted in the regions as an instruction to remove my name — Lieutenant General Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed, running for the Congress of Russian Communities No 31 — from the voting papers. I must state that I am Lieutenant General Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed and that I am remaining and will remain on the list for the Congress of Russian Communities sociopolitical movement. I have not broken away from that movement and I remain on the list of candidates for No 31, the Congress of Russian Communities in single-mandate constituency No 176 in Tula Region".

He concluded, "Esteemed listeners, let me give this warning: don't mess with us."

Semenov clarifies matters by saying that that Lebed had been removed from that list, and that this Lebed is still on this list of candidates and is here in the studio as well.

A listener asks whether the Congress of Russian Communities will try to change the rules on Duma deputies' immunity. Lebed answers that "deputies' immunity is entirely unnecessary. The law should apply equally to all, from the President down to the caretaker, and vice-versa. We also believe that people wishing to take their place in representative forums should have an unblemished reputation. If these people have blemishes, then they have no place there and should do something else. We think that incomes should be declared and that restrictions should be placed on presents so we know if these really are presents or something else."

In response to a question about the meaning and nationalistic undertone of the name Congress of Russian Communities, Yuriy Skokov explains it is a stepping stone to a union of all peoples in the Russian Federation to resolve nationality issues. There are already several national congresses, he said: of Tatars, of Circassians, of Bashkirs and others. "On the recommendation of leaders of these national movements, we agreed we would set up a congress of Russians — there are, after all, 120 million of us out of 148 million. This Russian congress would initiate the creation of another organization, the Union of Peoples, so that we can jointly agree on the principles of nationality policy."

A question concerning allegations by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy of financial irregularities at the 14th Army in Dniester under Lebed's command is given short shrift by Lebed. If there had been anything going on, news of it would have surfaced and an investigation launched. "I don't know what he's on about", Lebed says. "This is what Zhirinovskiy is up to — he has nothing to do but throw mud at people in the hope that some of it will stick."

Asked about the Black Sea Fleet, Lebed says: "The Black Sea Fleet question is being decided by rust. Neither Russia nor Ukraine can resolve the issue. It's a great idiocy and a crime against our shared future. There's not a single archeologist or historian or anyone else who can explain exactly what is the difference between Ukrainians and Russians."

The next question is about Chechnya and briefly answered by Lebed. "There's no military solution to the problem. It can only be solved by diplomatic, economic, and political methods and at state level. Not at the level of field commanders, whoever they may be."

Skokov is asked how his party would finance its election promises if elected. He replies that the money always seems to be available in the budget for certain pressure groups like the farmers. Also, up to one-fifth of the budget is squandered. The money is there, he says, and election promises would be funded from imposing tighter control on the state coffers.

A listener asks whether restoration of the USSR features in the Congress of Russian Communities' manifesto. The idea is dismissed as unrealistic by Skokov, on the grounds that disintegration has gone too far. He is, however, in favor of closer links, especially economic.

A listener asks what the Congress of Russian Communities will do if it cannot manage to win power by democratic means. Semenov puts this question to Lebed, on

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account of his "tough image." "I think we'll manage. If we don't, we'll live with it. No problem." Skokov adds: "It depends what happens on 17 December. If we are able to create a political force and if the people understand that they can act against the rising tide of crime, thuggery and unbridled officialdom, against unlimited abuse of power, by uniting into a single force — and they do understand this and will unite — then there'll be an opportunity to solve these problems in a truly tough but democratic manner in the name of that force, in the name of that movement. So we are waiting, asking and hoping."

Skokov uses a question about care for the future generation of children as an opportunity to outline his stance on the economy: "Answering this question, I want to stress that we are for a strong national economy, protection of the domestic market and protection of the Russian producer. If we don't have that, if our people aren't working, if we can't create our own material product, if we don't have a strong national economy, then we'll have nothing. The government is committing a crime when it directs all our raw-material resources not to the domestic market but to markets abroad, creating jobs over there and letting people over there get rich."

He elaborates on this after another question about the Congress of Russian Communities' economic manifesto: is it one of stabilization, or is reform required? "It is a program to restore the country's economy after the destruction under perestroyka and the reforms. Our economy has shrunk by over 50 percent, which is more than it did during the war."

Semenov invites last-minute rallying calls before airtime runs out. "Russians unite," Skokov says. "Our people are in trouble. If we want to survive, then let's join together. But not just us — together with other peoples."

Lebed says: "In order to survive, we need courage. Given courage, everyone can decide for themselves."

Gaydar, Communist Spokesman Debate

LD1612003695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1955 GMT on 15 December carries the 40-minute Vzglyad program, hosted by Yuriy Lyubimov.

Lyubimov begins by saying that the last minutes of the election campaign are running out, and that it just so happened that two radically different parties asked them to stage TV debates. This is followed by a video report of a betting office where bets are being made on the elections.

Lyubimov is then shown again, and says "Here, face to face, are Yegor Gaydar, leader of the Democratic Choice of Russia, and Yuriy Ivanov, an official spokesman for the Communist Party of the Russian Federation." The video shows Gaydar, Lyubimov, and Ivanov, live in the studio.

Gaydar and Ivanov accused each other of hypocrisy, of various political blunders, of destroying the economy, and of provoking the 1993 political crisis.

The following text rolls up on the screen: "Gaydars, Chubayses and others who hate everything Russian, Soviet and national, and who do not want us to live in accordance with the laws of truth, good and beauty, are trying hard to push us into the cheap intellectual prison camp, but their attempts are doomed — Gennadiy Zyuganov"

Gaydar and Ivanov then accuse each other of enjoying various privileges, using illegal money for the election campaign, and unleashing the Chechen war.

Lyubimov asks: "With whom does the future lie?"

Ivanov answers: "The future does not lie with Yegor Timurovich Gaydar, of course. Yegor Timurovich represents today a dwarfish and half-broken party. They will not gain more than 10 percent together with Yavlinskiy — his brother-in-arms — even if they try really hard. The future lies with those who work with the people. I know the people, I have been campaigning for a month and a half, and I know all their sufferings and pains. I represent the interests of the dispossessed majority, whereas Yegor Timurovich represents those fat cats that were in the party nomenklatura in 1991 and are at the top now. Yegor Timurovich, you are alien to the people. Your future is very bleak. Our faction was debating today whether Zyuganov should take part in the TV debates, and all of us decided unanimously: how long are we going to argue with Gaydar and Yavlinskiy — with those political dwarves? Well, Chernomyrdin, for example, is a person one can talk to. So for how long? And then there was a decision: Gaydar needs a lawyer. So they have sent me here. Yegor Timurovich, in three years housewives will beat you — as well as Chernomyrdin and Yavlinskiy — with their bags in the streets. I will stand for you — I promise. And the present Communist Party is in favor of a peaceful way of reconstruction..."

Lyubimov interrupts, saying: "So, the future lies with you."

Ivanov says: "Of course, the future lies with the Communists. I have no doubt whatsoever."

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Gaydar then argues that the future lay with the democrats, which had been proven by the world history. He also said the Communists could come to power for only a short period of time.

Gaydar and Ivanov then accuse each other of provoking the 1993 political crisis.

Ivanov says: "The elections are bringing Gaydar's political career to an end. This is the last performance of the artist, let us put it this way - do you remember a film with this title? So I do not object to Yegor Timurovich speaking. Let the viewers see him for the last time, because his value will drop sharply in the eyes of our commentators."

He accuses Gaydar of battering the legislature in 1993, and then goes on to say: "That was like a flash of lighting, and everyone saw that on the one hand, there were dispossessed people with Communists in their ranks and, on the other hand, pro-Westerners and democrats, who were trying to establish a new, pro-Western and pro-American regime at Uncle Sam's bidding. You pro-Westerners have no future, Yegor Timurovich. The elections are the end of your story. And you know perfectly well that your bloc will not be represented in the Duma. And we — we will be there — for a very long time, forever! On this cheerful note", then he pauses and changes tack. "I will not prevent you from saying goodbye to the Muscovites, so dear to your heart, to the Westerners and the democrats."

Lyubimov asks Ivanov why he is burying the opposition, and Gaydar says that it is too early to bury them.

Ivanov says: "The Communists have an ideology. They, the democrats, have no ideology. What is their ideology? To serve the West?"

Lyubimov says: "It may be a good job that they have no ideology."

Gaydar responds: "We have an ideology. We have a liberal ideology — the ideology that has triumphed in the world in the 20th century, the ideology that will triumph in Russia in the 21st century without fail. And Russia will without fail take the normal road of interest, freedom, open society, and open economy. Well, probably you would manage to steal a few years from us in the end of 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. No more than that. There is no communist regime that has not collapsed."

Ivanov says: "Russia will throw out traitors who work for the West. And you will have to seek a place of residence in Brighton and to provide yourself with gasoline."

After this, there is a general discussion with Lyubimov, Gaydar and Ivanov interrupting each other. Lyubimov then signs off asking Gaydar and Ivanov to shake hands, which they do.

Broadcast By Nur Muslim Movement

LD1512162195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 0525 GMT on 15 December carries the "Election 95" program and a seven and a half minute election broadcast by the Nur Muslim movement. Khalit Yakhin, live in the studio, reads out a statement outlining how Muslim values could be of service to the whole country.

"Our task," he says, "has been to create a Muslim grouping in the State Duma. How successfully this task will be achieved depends now only on you, on how you vote, esteemed voters.

"We are trail-blazers. Before us none of Russia's Muslim organizations had taken part in a parliamentary campaign. The Nur Muslim movement is the first Muslim political organization in the history of Russia that has legitimately, in an equal political struggle with other Russian parties and movements, taken part in the elections to the State Duma.

"We call on all people of Russia, regardless of ethnic group or religion, to adopt an understanding attitude to the program aims of the Nur Muslim movement. As citizens and patriots of Russia we are not striving for divisions and discord. We pledge to organize our activities in the interests of all Russia.

"Our movement puts forward, as the uniting idea, the Muslim idea. The moral and ethical standards of Islam can and should influence the whole fabric of society."

Yakhin goes on to compare Muslim values with those currently being promoted in society. "We are opposed to the unbridled adoption of Western values which everywhere, including in Russia, take on the ugly shape of increased crime, prostitution, the unprecedented growth of alcoholism and drug abuse, the cult of violence, the lust for profit by any means, sex and pornography on the television screens. We are in favor of taking the most valuable things from Western culture and from the rich cultural heritage of the East."

Yakhin concludes by appealing to all of Russia's Muslims for their support at the polls.

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Financial Details Reported of Some Parties' Expenses

LD1512220695 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A question was repeated many times during the run-up to the election as to how much and in what way political blocs have been spending their money on canvassing. Our radio station has learned some details at the Central Electoral Commission describing the situation as of 4 December. The LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] ranks first as far as donations to the party's pre-election budget are concerned, with more than 11 billion rubles. The top three also includes Russia is Our Home with 7.205 billion rubles, and the Congress of Russian Communities with 5.342 billion rubles. These three blocs in the same order of succession are at the top of the list of the extravagantly wasteful, too. The Union of Municipal Services and the Bloc including the leader of the Party of Defense of Pensioners and Veterans turned out to be the most tight-fisted ones. Judging by the released data, of the 80 million rubles which they received from the Central Electoral Commission according to the law, they did not spend even one kopeck.

TV Companies Announce Plans for Election Coverage

MK1612125395 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Vitaliy Bochkarev and Elina Nikolayeva: "TV-Elections: There Will Be No Repetition of 1993"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The election will be the most exciting subject of television reports on Sunday and Monday. All of the six main television channels received in Moscow will cover its progress in a dry and restrained manner. In gearing up for another Duma election, there was a manifestation of the 1993 syndrome, when "democratically" disposed television chiefs wished to demonstrate for the whole world to see the victorious progress of democracy in Russia. They organized a get-together to celebrate a "new political year." As everyone remembers, it was a disgrace. Celebrating democracy proved to be celebrating Zhirinovskiy.

ORT [Russian Public Television] viewers will be getting all the necessary information in special newscasts. There may also be interviews with political scientists, sociologists, and public figures, who will comment on the events. On Russian Television, in addition to "Vesti," which plans to go on the air twice an hour, there will be live broadcasts of a set of programs with the general title "A Night of Expectations." The proposed programs will range from Svanidze's "Details [Podrobnosti]" to Oleynikov's and Stoyanov's humorous "Gorodok" program. Also planned is an auction where the personal effects of former deputies who have distinguished themselves in one way or another will go on the block.

On NTV [Independent Television] it will be business as usual, the only difference being that its "Itogi" [newscast] will go on the air at 2200 instead of 2100. It plans to conclude with an additional segment of "Itogi" around midnight. Thus, Yevgeniy Kiselev will score the winning point. He has already won the journalists' election marathon by managing to finally organize regular live television debates at the end of the campaign.

Yeltsin To Announce Whether Running for President in Feb

LD1712081795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0744 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 17 Dec — "At some major meeting in February I will announce whether I am going to run for the presidency again," Boris Yeltsin told journalists at the Barvikha sanatorium after he had voted in the parliamentary elections.

The president said several factors would affect his final decision. Speaking about his health, Boris Yeltsin said he was "feeling well, things are getting better."

The president said a council of doctors would decide when he could move to work in the Kremlin, but he expressed the hope that this would happen soon.

Yeltsin Reaffirms Intention To Continue Reform Policy

LD1712125495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (Interfax) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin has reaffirmed his intention to continue the reform policy.

"Nobody and nothing can force me to abandon the reform policy. There can be no doubt about it," the president told correspondents Sunday at the Barvikha resort, where he participated in the Duma elections.

As for the future cabinet, the president said that "the government composition should take into account a certain distribution of forces in the new Duma. As for Chernomyrdin, he and I will exchange opinion, and may settle the problem in some other way in the interests of Russia. But I expect Chernomyrdin to head the new government."

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Yeltsin: Return to Communism in Russia Impossible

LD1712150995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (Interfax) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin is not sure that the communist opposition can win at the elections to the State Duma.

He has his "own point of view regarding the possible victory of communists despite a great number of prognoses." Yeltsin told journalists after voting in the Barvikha sanatorium. "One should not be in a hurry," he said.

The new composition of the State Duma "will not be busy with political mongering but will preserve and will improve cooperation between the president, the government and the State Duma," Yeltsin said. He advised new deputies to take into consideration that the previous composition of the State Duma failed to adopt more than a hundred decrees "because they wasted time on unnecessary activities."

Asked whether it is possible to restore a communist regime in Russia, Yeltsin said: "No, and once more no."

Zyuganov Expects Communists To Lead Parliament Coalition

LD1712132195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (Interfax) — The Communist party aims to form a coalition rather than Communist opposition majority in the new State Duma, which will make it possible "to some extent balance the system," Communist party boss Gennady Zyuganov told journalists at a polling station Sunday.

For this purpose, he recalled, during the election campaign the Communist party had pulled 63 of its candidates from various constituencies in favor of electoral blocs which are current or potential allies of the Communist Party.

For instance, communist candidates have been withdrawn from the districts where former Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov from the bloc Power to the People, film director Stanislav Govorukhin from the bloc named after him, and representatives of the Agrarian Party and the Congress of Russian Communities run for parliament.

Election results will show the country's leadership that "to govern the old way is impossible, and the current course should be corrected," Zyuganov said.

Asked what percent of the vote the communists expect to get, Zyuganov elusively answered, "the whole percent will be our percent, if properly counted."

In an earlier interview with Interfax on the eve of voting, Zyuganov said that Russia did not need "a sharp political turn to the left or elsewhere."

"On a big ship, the wheel should be smoothly handled in line with the laws of aerodynamics," Zyuganov said, adding that "although the country was turned sharply to the right, nothing good has come out of it."

If the Russian Communist Party wins more votes than at the previous elections, that can be regarded as a success for the party, Zyuganov remarked.

At the December 1993 elections, the Communists won 12.4 percent of the vote.

Communist's Zyuganov Interviewed on Future Plans

LD1812051695 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 0345 GMT 18 Dec 95

[Interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of Russia, by an unidentified correspondent on 18 December; place not given — live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zyuganov] We had a total of 10 percent in the Far East the last time. Today we have around 20 and if the same trend is confirmed in central Russia, then we have had 20 to 25 here. Therefore I think that we have an opportunity to double our strength in parliament and have quite a solid and large faction. It should be said straight out that we have preliminary data on a number of districts. [Svetlana] Goryacheva has also been elected in a single-seat constituency in the Far East. [Viktor] Ilyukhin in Penze. And I think there will be a lot more.

[Correspondent] Do you have any grounds for saying that the results of the elections may be falsified?

[Zyuganov] The grounds exist. According to data from American electronic intelligence, nine million votes were falsified the last time at the constitutional referendum. It is impossible to check this now because all the materials have been destroyed. Nonetheless the official authorities have not denied this news. Well, not only have we sent observers to all the polling stations — we had our representatives on the electoral commissions and they carefully checked that the elections were fair and accurate. Wherever attempts are made to add votes on, we will be able to check them. We are counting the data from the polling stations and we will see if

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a town, district or region has had votes added on. Under the law criminal charges can be brought in such cases.

[Correspondent] Do you intend allying with other parties in the Duma?

[Zyuganov] Well my immediate plans are for getting a good night's sleep. During the election campaign, over the three months, I travelled from the Far East to the Baltics, through all the largest regions. I had almost 300 meetings with different workforces. Well, we have already worked out the technology of consultations with our possible allies — with everyone who will enter the Duma in fact — in order to define key positions and form a grand coalition. There are three, very simple key positions: the unity of the territory of the Russian Federation, peace throughout its lands and care for the well-being of everyone instead of individuals.

[Correspondent] Can you name the members of this coalition?

[Zyuganov] Everyone who is ready to answer these three questions and present their proposals from the point of view of the law and realistic politics. We are not shutting the door to anyone. Realistically, those closest to us are the Agrarians — we have already come to agreement with them on many things. Then a number of trade unions, women's organizations, goods manufacturers without regard to the form of ownership, veterans' organizations, the officers' union. There are quite a few.

Central Electoral Commission Information Center Opens

LD1612085895 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 16 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia's Central Electoral Commission [CEC] Election 95 information center opens today [16 December] in Moscow. Beginning 0800 on 17 December, the day of the elections to the State Duma, over 1,000 Russian and foreign journalists accredited to Russia's CEC will be able to follow the course of the voting across the whole territory of Russia on an electronic screen. Some 10,000 fiduciaries from electoral blocs and 50,000 observers, including 900 from abroad, will also observe the progress of the elections.

Shumeyko Predicts 55 Percent Duma Election Turnout

LD1712133495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (Interfax) — The head of Russia's upper house of parliament, Vladimir Shumeyko, has predicted a turnout of about 55 percent at Sunday's election for the State Duma, the lower house.

Talking to Interfax at one of Moscow's polling stations, Federation Council Chairman Shumeyko did not, however, disclose for whom he had voted but said his younger daughter Natalya had cast her ballot for the bloc Democratic Choice of Russia—United Democrats. "She can't imagine a new Duma without (bloc leader) Yegor Gaydar," Shumeyko said, adding he shared her sympathies.

"Various democratic forces must certainly be represented in the new parliament," he said.

By noon the polling station where Shumeyko and many other members of the upper echelon of government are registered had shown a turnout of 10 percent.

Long Lines at Moscow Polling Stations

LD1712172095 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Dec 95

[from the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer Tatyana Mitkova] Now we can get the most up to date information from the Federal Information Center, where our correspondent Vadim Glusker is working. [passage omitted]

Have any reports come in of infringements of voting procedure?

[Glusker] The Central Electoral Commission so far has no information on this, but everybody is commenting on the rather lengthy lines at polling stations in Moscow, and pointing out that people wait for five or ten minutes and then just go away without casting their vote. Central Electoral Commission spokesmen have to some degree admitted their responsibility for this, saying that they just could not predict the exact number of voters who would be coming to the polling stations today. [passage omitted]

[Mitkova, over video of crowded polling station] In contrast to the top leaders of the state and leaders of electoral organizations, ordinary citizens were today forced to remember the forgotten habits of waiting in lines. Many polling stations were packed, and not just because of the number of people wanting to vote.

Today's elections are remarkable for the high turnout, as you have already heard, and at some polling stations there were lines for ballot papers. Members of district electoral commissions think that there were lines not only because people were hurrying to vote between

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0800 2200 hours — the time allowed for voting was four hours less than in the last elections. [passage omitted]

Turnout of 46.6 Percent Reported in St. Petersburg

LD1712182895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1745 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nataliya Cherepanova]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] St. Petersburg, 17 Dec — Some electoral commissions did not expect such a brisk voting in St. Petersburg, where 46.6 percent of the electorate had cast their votes by 1800. This has somehow slowed down their work. [passage omitted]

Nearly All Servicemen Participate in Elections

LD1812123395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — A total of 97.6 percent of servicemen participated in the Duma elections, a representative of the Defense Ministry's Main Educational Department told Interfax Monday [18 December].

Some 94 percent of servicemen of the Strategic Missile Troops, 93 percent of servicemen of the Army, 92 percent of servicemen of the Navy, 93 percent of servicemen of the Air Force, 92 percent of servicemen of the Air Defense Troops, and 92 percent of servicemen of the Air-Borne Troops came to the polling stations on December 17.

The most active participants in the elections were students of military schools (99.9 percent), military builders (99.0 percent) and main departments of the Defense Ministry (98.5 percent).

The voting was well-organized in all military districts.

It is impossible to say which parties or blocs were supported by the servicemen, because they came to open polling stations together with civilians, said the official.

According to preliminary information, over 70 percent of servicemen who voted at closed polling stations supported the Russia is Our Home bloc.

The closed polling stations were open for servicemen stationed in Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Transdniester, Ukraine (the Black sea fleet), Belarus (the strategic missile units) and far abroad, said the ministry representative.

All in all, there were 92 closed polling stations outside Russia.

Preliminary voting results have come from the Transdniester region. A total of 43.2 percent of the servicemen voted for Russia is Our Home, 12.9 percent for the Congress of Russian Communities, 10.9 percent for the Liberal-Democratic Party, 9.8 percent for the Russian Communist Party and 4 percent for the Women of Russia.

According to preliminary information, nine servicemen may be elected Duma deputies. The overall number of military candidates to the State Duma in single-mandate electoral districts was 118.

Moscow Elections Valid; Over 30 Percent Voter Turnout

LD1712141095 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 1300 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to official information, Russian Federation citizens are turning out in force to vote in the State Duma elections.

Information coming in to the Moscow city electoral commission from most territorial commissions on the situation as of 1400 [1100 GMT] make it possible to state that the elections to the State Duma in the capital are valid — up to 30 percent of the electorate has already voted in the city.

OSCE Official Claims Elections 'Free and Fair'

LD1812113495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1109 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 18 (ITAR-TASS) — The parliamentary elections in Russia were free and fair. Peter Emery, head of the delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), said this on behalf of all the 140 international observers from 26 countries. They held a news conference in the State Duma on Monday.

Observers unanimously concluded that the multi-party elections were held successfully, Emery said.

International observers had an opportunity to monitor the elections from the opening of the polling stations to their closure and the counting of votes. Emery said his colleagues arrived at the conclusion that this year's elections were held in a better way than in 1993. The shortcomings during the elections were insignificant, Emery said. He noted, specifically, that some voters cast ballots "by proxy" and that the counting of votes was somewhat slow at some polling stations. Asked about observers' opinion regarding the elections in Chechnya, Emergy said they can say nothing as there were no international observers in Chechnya.

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Election Commission Official on Preliminary Results

LD1812024595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0232 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (Itar-Tass) — The Central Election Commission played down fears that communists and nationalists may dominate the new State Duma and advised journalists to wait till Monday morning for exact early returns from major industrial centres.

"It is too early to speak about a definite leader", Commission secretary Aleksandr Yelmakov told Tass on Monday, but admitted that the Communist party of Gennadiy Zyuganov will be among the leaders.

"One should seriously look at the informaion by 10:00 hours Moscow time (07:00 GMT), although it will also be selective and not objective", he added.

The major cities are lagging behind from the countryside in providing election results and therefore the current election situation "does not correspond to the general temperatrure of Russia", Yelmakov said.

He suggested that the Our Home is Russia election bloc of premier Viktor Chernomyrdin "may be among the leaders" as the final results are known.

He agreed that the Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the Women of Russia and the Yabloko bloc of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy will eventually overcome the 5 per cent hurdle.

However, some four-five other parties may overcome the hurdle as well, Yelmakov predicted.

He added that a majority of the Russian population lives from the Urals to the western borders of the country and the most exact results can be expected by 16:00 hours Moscow time (13:00 GMT) Monday.

ITAR-TASS Provides Preliminary Election Results

LD1812030195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0254 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (Itar-Tass) - Reformist parties and blocs began to slowly catch up with communists and nationalists as early returns from a half of Russian regions (45 out of 89) became known.

Follow the preliminary returns of the Russian parliamentary elections as for 05:00 hours Moscow time (02:00 GMT) provided by the Central Election Commission:

The Communist party of Gennadiy Zyuganov - 23 percent (compared to 26 as for 03:00 hours),
The Liberal Democratic party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy - 13.9 percent (15.3).
The Our Home is Russia - 7.8 percent (5.9)
The Yabloko of Grigory Yavlinskiy - 6.3 percent (5.2).
The Women of Russia - 5.5 percent (5.9).
Other parties and blocs have not overcome the 5 percent hurdle so far.
The conservative Agrarian party - 4.8 percent,
The diehard communist Working Russia party - 4.4 percent,
The centrist Workers' Self-organisation Party of eye surgeon Svyatoslav Fedorov - 3.8 percent,
The Democratic Russia's Choice of Yegor Gaydar - 3.4 percent,
The nationalist Congress of Russian Communities - 3.3 percent,
The centrist Party of Russian Unity and Accord of Sergey Shakhray - 3 percent,
The Ivan Rybkin bloc of current State Duma speaker Ivan Rybkin - 1.1 percent.

TV Carries Election Results; Communists Lead

LD1812074995 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 0701 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Good morning. Can you hear me? Good morning. We are in the federal information center. We have just received new data on the results of the elections. Across Russia, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation is for now in the lead. It has 22 per cent. The early morning data had been 21.8 per cent. There has been a fall in the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] vote. In the morning they had 11.7 percent. They now have 11.2 percent. Russia Is Our Home now has 9.5 percent — in the morning it had 9.2 percent. The Yabloko electoral association has 8.4 percent at 1000 [0700 GMT] while it had 7.9 percent in the morning. These four electoral associations have cleared the five percent barrier and one can now say with some certainty that they will get into the Duma.

Now for those who are near the five percent barrier. That's Russia's Democratic Choice — United Democrats. Earlier in the morning they had 4.5 percent. Now they have 4.8 percent — i.e. the democrats have almost cleared the five percent hurdle. Women of Russia had 4.7 percent, and they now have 4.5 percent. The Congress of Russian Communities have 4.1 percent. The Working People's Self-government Party have 4.1 percent. The Communist - Working Russia - For the Soviet Union bloc has 4.1 percent while at 0800 it had 4.3 percent.

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Voting against all candidates were 2.7 percent of Russia's electorate. This data includes the results of voting across 58 components of the federation including St. Petersburg and Moscow.

As for the capital, Russia Is Our Home is leading in Moscow with 20.3 percent. Yabloko and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation are level at 15.2 percent while Russia's Democratic Choice is just behind at 10.6 percent. The Congress of Russian Communities has 5.3 percent in Moscow and the Working People's Self-Government Party has exactly five percent.

In St. Petersburg, Yabloko is in the lead with 16.6 percent. The Communist Party of the Russian Federation has 13.9 percent. Our Home is Russia has 13.3 percent and Russia's Democratic Choice has 12.7 percent. Around 60 percent of the electorate voted in St. Petersburg. In Moscow, according to data at 0800, it was 46 percent but it is predicted that this figure will rise to 53 percent approximately. [passage omitted]

Yeltsin's Remarks at Barvikha Polling Station Reported

LD1712110195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0730 GMT on 17 December carries a two-minute report by Mayak correspondent Yuliy Semenov on President Yeltsin's remarks after casting his vote at the polling station at Barvikha sanatorium outside Moscow. Semenov states that Yeltsin "refused to reply to a question about whom he had voted for, seeing in it an element of propaganda on election day." "As far as various forecasts are concerned, the president believes that there is no need to be in too much of a hurry to make an assessment. One must wait until the results. For all that, he hopes that the composition of the Duma will allow it to be capable of working and that the tradition of cooperation between the legislative and executive power will continue and that the Duma will not allow itself to become involved in political intrigues. He is hoping for such cooperation. In his opinion, no change in the political situation should change the course of reforms. At any rate, he will not reject it. As far as the future prime minister is concerned, just as before, Yeltsin is inclined toward cooperation with Viktor Chernomyrdin and if some changes, considering the balance of political forces, suddenly become necessary, then this issue will only be resolved with Viktor Chernomyrdin. For the moment he does not visualize any other prime minister. As far as Yugoslavia is concerned — there were questions about it from our colleagues — the president said that he has made the decision that Russia should vote in the Security Council in favor of the process of peaceful settlement in Bosnia, in which Russia is taking an active part. Responding to a question about his health, the president said that the process of his recovery is becoming stable, there have been some ups and downs, but things were getting better and better. He joked that all he had to do now was to fight against the council [of doctors], in order to return to taking an active part in all the current matters more quickly and, from a personal point of view, he had a completely natural desire to see in the New Year with his sufficiently large family."

Semenov concludes by promising more details later in the day.

TV Reports on Yeltsin Voting

LD1712111995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 0955 GMT on 17 December carries an unscheduled "Novosti" bulletin, which carries a three-minute report on Russian President Boris Yeltsin voting in the Duma Elections.

The announcer reports that Yeltsin has cast his vote at the Barvikha sanatorium. Yeltsin is shown arriving at the polling station, having his passport and identity checked by an electoral official, entering the booth and then emerging to submit his ballot paper.

Speaking to journalists, he says: "Let us recall what the pluralists were saying in summer and autumn of this year — that the federal authorities are doing all they can so that the elections won't go ahead because it's not in the president's interests, and that he wants the State Duma and presidential elections to be postponed. And he is doing all he can to achieve that. And going into hiding at Barvikha was part of the plan!

"Look. The elections have to be valid. They're going ahead at full steam in the Chechen Republic".

The camera cuts to another clip of Yeltsin, who says: "Let's hope the new Duma will be to Russia's benefit, inclined to working hard and not playing at politics, to preserve and even improve the interaction between the president, the government, and the State Duma. I hope this will be the case, because it will benefit Russia and benefit the people of Russia.

"Nobody and nothing will make me turn back and drop the chosen policy of reforms. These are essential — I'm firm on that — and there can be no doubts."

In remarks paraphrased by newsreader Anna Prokhorova, Yeltsin adds that the government's lineup might change after the elections but in any event he was inclined to keep Viktor Chernomyrdin on as prime minister.

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Yeltsin Favors Chernomyrdin as Head of New Government

LD1712182195 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Dec 95

[Video report by unidentified correspondent, including recorded comments by President Boris Yeltsin given in Moscow on 17 December; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [video shows Yeltsin casting his vote and talking to journalists] [Correspondent] In the Brvikha sanatorium in Moscow Region, Boris Yeltsin cast his vote today. In an interview with journalists, the president wished the new deputies corps would not engage in politicking and attempts to evade answering questions. He reminded that the former deputies of the State Duma had failed to adopt more than 100 laws. The members of parliament did not have enough time to do their main job. It was wasted on unnecessary things, he said. Without having answered the question about the possible alignment of forces in the new Duma, the president said this.

[Yeltsin] Nobody and no circumstances will make me abandon the policy of reform that we have chosen. As for the government, provided there is a certain alignment of forces at the State Duma, it will be necessary to consider who will be in the government. As for Chernomyrdin, I am personally in favor of the idea that he should head the new government.

[Correspondent] Once again the head of the country has disappointed the press over whether he will stand for president in 1996. But he said he will make a public statement to that effect in February. As for Yeltsin's health, he said he felt better. [passage omitted]

Yeltsin Discusses Election Returns With Assistant

LD1812123495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1144 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 — Russian President Boris Yeltsin discussed the preliminary results of the elections with first presidential assistant Viktor Ilyushin at Monday noon, the presidential press service reported. Later, Yeltsin held a working meeting with Speaker of the Federation Council Vladimir Shumeiko. They, specifically, discussed the results of the work of the Federation Council and the agenda of its forthcoming meetings.

The President highly accessed the voter turnout in Russia, Sergey Medvedev, the presidential Press Secretary, told Itar-Tass on Monday. He said that this confirmed the President's forecast.

According to the Central Electoral Commission, 64.95 percent of registered voters went to the polls. This refuted the forecasts that voters were going to ignore the polls, the Press Secretary said. "People's decision to go to the polls was largely influenced by the President's address to the nation broadcast by the media on the eve of the election," the Press Secretary believes.

Medvedev said presidential assistants and the chief of the presidential administration keep the President posted about the counting of votes. Medvedev believes it is yet early to sum up the elections. The final conclusions can be made after the Central Electoral Commission documentedly confirms its reports, also as regards one-seat constituences.

On Tuesday Yeltsin will be discussing preliminary election returns at his usual working meeting with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Medvedev said.

Zyuganov Satisfied With Early Returns, Eyes Presidency

LD1812003995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0035 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By Tamara Ivanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (Itar-Tass) — Gennadiy Zyuganov, whose Communist party is said to be enjoying a major success in the Russian Far East and Siberia, is satisfied with the early returns and hopes to enhance success in other Russian regions as well.

The Communist party has "seriously gained" compared to the 1993 State Duma elections, Zyuganov told Tass on Monday adding that the party has "very good positions" also in the central regions of Russia.

He did not conceal his plans to win the presidential elections next year as well. The election technology of the Communist party is planned for two stages: the parliamentary and presidential elections, he said.

Early returns said the Communists won over 21 per cent of votes in the Far East and Siberia.

However, Zyuganov was sceptical of whether the possible victory could allow him to change the situation in the country.

"Even if 100 per cent of seats in the Duma is won by the opposition, it would be hard to change anything under the existing (executive) authority", he said.

Still he will work to create "a solid coalition, a serious program in order to offer something solid and serious".

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Zyuganov Anticipates Strengthening of Duma Powers

LD1812112795 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2310 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Unidentified presenter] We have in the studio Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov, chairman of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation; Viktor Ivanovich Ilyukhin, chairman of the outgoing State Duma committee on security; and Viktor Petrovich Peshkov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Gennadiy Andreyevich, what are your feelings as the results come in?

[Zyuganov] We believed that we would actually gain everywhere and that is what is happening. We have just had the figures from Volgograd — we have had a considerable increase there, getting almost 27 percent, and we have around 30 percent in Altay. Even in Moscow we have made substantial gains; in Moscow Region we have around 20-22 percent.

This success comes through the nature of the party, which has regained its strength, and through the fact that we have all, without exception, used new technology and worked directly with people. We have been in all the territories, without exception; we have had hundreds of meetings. We have a pretty sure and solid team and a clear and precise program, which provides for two stages: the State Duma elections and the presidential elections.

The first, highly important, step towards strengthening the position of the popular patriotic forces has, I believe, been taken. This will have a palpable effect on the formation of a big coalition in the State Duma, which is our main idea and which both the program and the team can offer.

[Presenter] Your first steps in the Duma? We know that you are one of the most influential forces there.

[Zyuganov] Well, Viktor Ivanovich [Ilyukhin] is working in the Duma now, and I hope he will be continuing; this is exceptionally responsible work.

[Presenter] There remain 200 laws from the previous Duma.

[Zyuganov] No, the key issues — wherever we have been, people put first prices, personal public security, and unemployment. Our first steps involve bringing in basic order, providing security. If we do not guarantee these rights, there is no point in all the rest. There has to be public assistance, targeted assistance, for those who this winter are ultimately unable to make ends meet — people with big families, the disabled, the elderly, and so on.

Another key issue is the power structure. The present government is essentially neither overseen nor accountable and the president has so many powers that a perfectly healthy and very highly experienced person would not be able to cope. We will therefore be striving to deal with things by not making the situation more difficult, but by strengthening the oversight functions of the State Duma and at the same time being ready to give the greatest powers to the executive and administrative authorities, if they can be unitary and not duplicated as at present. You know that the president's team makes decisions, so does the government, but neither takes responsibility for the outcome.

[Presenter] So, Gennadiy Andreyevich. If the forces of the left are going to be so well represented in the State Duma, have so many seats, many people are naturally going to be worried that the pendulum will swing in the opposite direction, that there will be many different forces and movements, so people are of course worried about stability and continuity. Will this not mean new tendencies in the State Duma, above all in the power structure, and too great shocks?

[Zyuganov] We discussed this matter today with Russian business to create conditions for very efficient work regardless of the kind of ownership and for normal organization of life. We will be trying to do this. In my view, a very solid left-center coalition could take shape. A coalition, on the one hand, of people who are well aware that without justice and friendship among peoples there can be no prosperity in Russia, and on the other hand, of people with experience, pragmatism, and a knowledge of government.

In our team we have Aman Tuleyev, Petr Romanov, Svetlana Goryacheva, Viktor Ilyukhin — who has a good knowledge of security, Nikolay Gubenko, and a whole series of other people who have proven they are able to operate effectively, both under the old system and in the new conditions. [passage omitted]

Grachev Votes in Moscow, Comments on Chechnya

LD1712084195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0811 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Artem Protasenko and Gennadiy Yezhov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 17 Dec — One must not stir up tension in the country. "The country needs stability, whoever wins today's elections," Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said leaving a polling station in Krylatskoye [in Moscow]. Asked by journalists

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for whom he had voted, the minister said he had voted for "peace and stability." As for the army in general, the minister said it consisted of "living people, and every one of them has his own opinion."

The minister was asked about the situation in Gudermes, where fighters continue to lay siege to the commandant's office building and the railway station. The minister said the army was virtually not involved in the operation to neutralize the fighters, which was being conducted by the Chechen interior troops and police. The Defense Ministry troops "back them with artillery and air force" when necessary.

Pavel Grachev was confident that the elections in Chechnya would be valid.

Zavagayev, Lobov Vote in Chechnya

LD1712085895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0829 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Trofimov, Ruslan Maysigov, and Sharip Asuyev]

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy, 17 Dec — Russian presidential envoy to Chechnya Oleg Lobov and Chairman of the Chechen government Doku Zavgayev today at 1100 cast their votes at the polling station No. 29 at Severnyy airport in Groznyy.

After the voting Doku Zavgayev told journalists: "Voters are very actively taking part in the elections. According to preliminary data, the voting has taken place. This shows that people strive for peace and civil accord, and that they support steps taken by the republic's government and the federal authorities to stabilize the situation in Chechnya."

Rybkin Will Form Coalition With Centrist Deputies

LD1712131495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (Interfax) — If the election bloc of Ivan Rybkin wins the Duma elections, its deputies will make a coalition with centrist parties, including those of the right-wing center, and the Agrarian Party of Russia in the new Duma, Rybkin told correspondents at the 201st polling station of Moscow Sunday.

He regretted the failure of sober-minded forces to unite before the elections because of their leaders' arrogance.

Commenting on the elections progress, the Duma speaker said that the voters are now 1.5-2 times more active than before.

In his opinion, "it is very important that people vote and choose their leaders." Rybkin likes the "unhurried replacement of the old Russian parliament with the new one in accordance with the Constitution."

"The people's voice is the God's voice," noted Rybkin.

Women of Russia Leader Hopes To Enlarge Duma Faction

LD1812075395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0719 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By Tamara Ivanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (Itar-Tass) - Preliminary results of polling in Sunday's [17 December] elections to the State Duma of Russia were not unexpected to Alevtina Fedulova, leader of the Women of Russia movement.

Commenting on the Central Electoral Commission report that the Women of Russia movement has polled tentatively 5.5 percent of the vote on party lists, as of 05.00 Moscow time (02.00 GMT), in 45 regions of the country, Fedulova told Itar-Tass that the polling results "confirm the initial estimates to a certain extent".

Fedulova voiced hope that even five percent of the vote gained in elections this time "will weigh more than in 1993" (when the Women of Russia movement polled 8.13 percent of the vote) and will enable the movement to enlarge its faction in the State Duma.

Fedulova reafffirmed the movement's position — not to ally with any associations — since she does not see so far a political force which would regard the women as partners in politics, "not just as the electorate".

Lebed Wins Duma Seat in Tula Constituency

LD1812042795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0355 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Rudenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tula, 18 Dec — General Aleksandr Lebed, one of the leaders of the Congress of Russian Communities association, has won a confident victory in the 176th single-mandate constituency in Tula. The former commander of the 14th Army in the Dniester region won twice as many votes as his closest opponents — Tula Mayor Nikolay Tyaglivyy and Eduard Pashchenko, a deputy of the first State Duma.

Rutskoy To Run for President Despite Duma Defeat

LD1812121595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — Leader of the Derzhava (Great Power) social-patriotic movement and former Russian Vice President

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Aleksandr Rutskoy plans to run for president in 1996, despite his defeat in the 1995 Duma elections.

"I do not care for the defeat, because there can be nothing surprising in this country with its ugly political system," Rutskoy told Interfax Monday [18 December].

Commenting on the elections success of the Russian Communist Party, Rutskoy said "people must have had too little bloodshed and suffering, and want more of them."

"I hope that sooner or later Russian citizens will become lucid. We are a great country, and deserve a worthy life," said Rutskoy.

Reformists, Businessmen Win in One-Seat Communities

LD1812032895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0314 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (Itar-Tass) — Well- known businessmen and reformist politicians have won in one-seat constituencies in the Russian capital of Moscow.

The Russian TV network quoted the Central Election Commission as saying that, as for 05:00 hours Moscow time (02:00 GMT), the following candidates have won in Moscow:

Democratic lawmaker Irina Khakamada,
Former Human Rights Commissioner Sergey Kovalev,
Democratic investigator Telman Gdlyan,
Reformist businessmen Konstantin Borovoy and Artem Tarasov.

Regional Activities

Regional Election Results in Keeping With 'General Picture'

LD1812112495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1110 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 18 (ITAR-TASS) — Preliminary information about the results of the elections to the State Duma received by ITAR-TASS correspondents in Russian regions are in keeping with the general picture of the results of the voting presented by the Central Electoral Commission.

Communists are leading in many subjects of the Federation on federal tickets. This situation is characteristic not only of Siberia and the Far East but also of Central Russia. For instance, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation is leading by a large margin in the Tambovsk region (35 per cent), Bryansk region (33.8 per cent), Belgorod region (29.6 per cent), Smolensk region (about 25 per cent). Communists earned approximately 20 per cent of votes in the Samara, Voronezh, Leningrad, Vladimir and some other regions in the European part of Russia.

The LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] is ahead of Communists by some 1.5 per cent in the Maritime territory. It earned 20.2 per cent of votes. Yabloko bloc is leading in the Kamchatka peninsula so far. In keeping with experts' forecast, the leader in the Sverdlovsk region is Transformation of the Fatherland movement formed by the region's governor Eduard Rossel.

The democratic forces have the strongest positions in Moscow and in St. Petersburg, while they have not been able to overcome the five per cent hurdle in Russian provinces.

There have so far been only sketchy reports about leaders in one- seat constituencies. Moreover, they are preliminary. Among the well-known personalities who are ahead of competitors are Speaker of the State Duma Ivan Rybkin (the Voronezh region), Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev who ran in the Murmansk region, Boris Yeltsin's associate in the recent past Gennadiy Burbulis (the Sverdlovsk region), prominent eye surgeon Svyatoslav Fedorov (Chuvashia), Far Eastern entrepreneur Valentin Tsoy (the Khabarovsk territory), former Speaker of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov (the Smolensk region), USSR ex-Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov (the Belgorod region), General Albert Makashov (the Samara region), leader of St. Petersburg regional committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation Yuriy Belov (the Leningrad region), journalist Aleksandr Nevzorov (the Pskov region).

It is characteristic that preference in one-seat constituencies is given to local chiefs as the population hopes that they will exert efforts toward improving their life.

Elections Progressing 'Without Incidents'

LD1712151995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — The Duma elections are progressing without incidents throughout Russia, deputy head of the Russian Interior Ministry's press service Mikhail Doronin told INTERFAX Sunday.

There have been several telephone calls claiming explosive devices in Buryatia and the Far East, he said.

Reinforced police patrols in Moscow and the Moscow region have helped to solve about 40 grave crimes.

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A certain Sobyanin, a resident of Novokuznetsk, was arrested at the Sheremetyevo airport for a series of hired murders in Moscow and other areas.

The police arrested a lawyer of the Moscow City Bar, Molchanov, who organized the kidnapping of several citizens. They were kept hostage at a rest house in the Moscow region.

According to Doronin, the activities of several criminal groups involved in drug trafficking were stopped in the past 24 hours.

High Turnout in Far East, Low Turnout in North Viewed

LD1712134495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1328 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 17 (ITAR-TASS) — Explaining the reasons for a surprisingly high turnout at the elections to the State Duma, experts from the analytical centre at the staff of the Russian president give two possible explanations. "It may be the result either of the fear to see the present authorities replaced by new ones, or of a protest against the policy, pursued by the government."

Emil Pain, head of the special task group created at the analytical centre specially for the elections, told TASS that "the growth of the turnout in comparison with 1993 in the Far East and Siberia is exceedingly high — by five to 10 per cent." The voting is over in that part of the country.

Against this background low turnout in the northern areas — the Magadan Region, Norilsk and the Taymyr Peninsula — is especially noticeable. Leonid Smyrnyagin, head of the department of regional problems at the analytical centre, made a telephone call to Norilsk and found out that on the eve of December 17 Anatoliy Filatov, director of the Norilsk Metallurgical Complex, had said in his TV address that he was not going to take part in the voting in protest against the policy of the local governor and indirectly urged residents of the city to boycott the elections. By 14.00 local time, only 2 per cent of electors cast their ballots, Smyrnyagin learned.

The authorities of the Krasnoyarsk Region, Norilsk and Taymyr have some differences on the problem of administrative borders between their territories, and, in the opinion of Smyrnyagin, the low turnout is the result of that territorial dispute.

A low turnout in the Magadan Region and other northern areas may be explained by the fact that the extreme north is now being supplied with food and other essentials far worse than two years ago. Smyrnyagin believes that the situation in the Magadan region can be described as the evacuation of the population: from five to ten per cent of the population leave it every year.

The task group of the analytical centre is accumulating information coming from representatives of the president in all the regions of the country, from the Central Electoral Commission, the department for the work with territories at the staff of the president, from world, Russian and regional news agencies. Experts of the group will refrain from making public the trends in the voting by party tickets until 23.00 of today.

ITAR-TASS Describes Voting Situation at 0900 GMT

LD1712132595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1231 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 17 (ITAR-TASS) — By 1200, Moscow time [0900 GMT], some three million people have already cast their ballots. A total number of electors is 28.7 million. Consequently, according to the information of the Central Electoral Commission, the turnout was 9.8 per cent by midday.

The figure reflects only the situation in 16 subjects of the federation, mostly Eastern regions of the country. The turnout was rather high in the Amur Region (44.6 per cent). The figure for the Aguinsk Autonomous District of Buryatia is 42 per cent, for the Jewish Autonomous District also 42 per cent, for the Ust-Orda Autonomous District of Buryatia 40 per cent, and in the Chukotsk Region 34 per cent.

Elections in the Chechen Republic may actually be considered valid, which was pointed out with satisfaction by President Yeltsin at the polling station.

Commenting on the elections in Chechnya, Oleg Lobov told journalists today after he cast his ballot, that "the activity of electors surpassed the expectations not only of the opponents, but also of supporters of the elections, which is evidence of people's striving for peace." Speaking about a possible outcome of the elections in the republic, he said that, most probably, Doku Zavgayev will be elected head of the republic by a large margin.

By 1200, Moscow Time, 70 per cent of officers and men took part in the voting, the Defence Ministry reported. According to the information received by TASS, a working group for organizing elections in the Armed Forces summed up the first results. According to their information, 40,000 servicemen took part in the early voting, specifically those who are now in Chechnya,

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officers and men serving in the missile troops, who are on duty today, the peacekeeping troops in Bosnia, sailors deployed at the Camragn naval base in Vietnam and those from the northern naval squadron, who are getting prepared for a voyage to the Mediterranean.

Sir Peter Emery, British MP and head of the OSCE delegation of observers, who are monitoring the elections to the State Duma, believes that there will be no vote rigging or violations in the course of the elections. Responding to a question of TASS, Sir Peter Emery stressed that he had been convinced by his observations at polling station No. 2702, situated in secondary school No. 1130, as well as by his two-hour conversation with Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission Nikolay Ryabov.

Voting is now going on in the whole of the Russian Federation — from the Chukotsk Peninsula, where it has practically been over, to the Kaliningrad Region, a Russian enclave, including Russian polar stations. Polar workers from the Vostok and Mirny polar stations were the first to vote in Antarctica. 150 Russian citizens doing research work there, as well as sailors from research vessels, have a chance to fulfil their civic duty.

The voting is taking place in an elated atmosphere, partially because of good weather: true Russian winter came today to about all the regions of the country.

Unlike previous elections, the atmosphere at Tyumen polling stations, where numerous students are voting, is rather excited. Programmes of political parties and blocs are not the only thing that attracted them. A special lottery is being held there, which was organized by the student council of the Younger Generation for Elections and Ovation movements. Prizes include 600 tickets to the Nautilus Pompilius music group, which is extremely popular in Tyumen, to disc and youth clubs. Besides, Academician Kuntsev, Rector of Tyumen University, instituted a special prize of one million roubles for the one who gives a most accurate forecast of the results of the voting.

Elections Progressing in Republics, Military Garrisons

LD1712112795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1110 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 17 (ITAR-TASS) — Voting within the framework of elections to the State Duma began today at the polling stations in the cities of Almaty, Akatau, and Kustanay of Kazakhstan, as well as in Russian military garrisons, deployed in that republic.

TASS correspondent Fyodor Ignatov visited the polling station at the Russian Embassy in Kazakhstan, and Mikhail Yuferov, minister plenipotentiary — counselor of the embassy and head of the electoral commission, told him that turnout was not especially high so far. Only some 30 Russian citizens living in Kazakhstan took advantage of their right to vote.

Polling station No. 163 opened in the city of Lvov, western Ukraine, at 0800, local time, which is one hour later than Moscow time. It was organized by the Consulate General of Russia. According to TASS correspondent in Lvov Galina Nekrasova, the local authorities have not yet allotted a special building for that diplomatic mission. This is why the voting was organized in an old building dating back to the 19th century — in the club of railway workers.

"We do not know how many Russian citizens, living permanently or temporarily in western Ukraine, will come to the polls, but we have a list of some 200 people who have the right to vote. The situation will become clear before 2200," Consul General of Russia Anatoliy Kovalev told TASS.

People working at polling station No. 162 in Odessa, in southern Ukraine, do not know either how many people are going to vote. Their list is longer, however, because it includes people on business trips, sailors and Russian citizens who just happen to stay at the Odessa port now. Another mobile polling station No.165 opened in Simferopol. It is also under the supervision of the consulate-general in Odessa.

People living in Turkmenia, who have double citizenship — that of Turkmenia and Russia — will take part for the first time in Russian parliamentary elections. This will be done in accordance with an agreement, signed by President Yeltsin and his Turkmen counterpart Saparmurad Niyazov. According to TASS correspondent in Ashgabat Vladimir Lukin, some 20,000 people with double citizenship have been registered in Turkmenistan. Polling stations were opened today in the Turkmen capital, five district centres and the port of Turkmenbashi (previously Krasnovodsk).

In Georgia voting is taking place at 27 polling stations. According to TASS correspondent in Tbilisi Tengiz Pachkoria, the polling stations were opened in the Russian Embassy, the headquarters of the Russian army group in the Transcaucasian region and areas of deployment of Russian army units. According to the information coming from there, the turnout is rather high.

Fifty per cent of electors, registered in Uzbekistan, have already cast their ballots. According to TASS

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correspondent in Tashkent Vilor Niyazmatov, many people covered tens or even hundreds of kilometres to reach polling stations.

Polling stations opened today in three largest cities of Latvia — Riga, Liepaya and Daugavpils, but there are no habitual lists of electors there. The thing is that most of the 52,000 people, who have the right to take part in Russian elections, have already left for Russia. The electoral campaign, which swept Russia, almost did not affect the Russian citizens living in that neighbouring country. Representatives of political parties did not show much interest in the local diaspora.

Two polling stations open in Estonia today, where Russian citizens will be able to vote at the parliamentary elections. A spokesman for the Russian Embassy in Tallinn told TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan that both polling stations are integrated in the Vsevolzhsky constituency of the Leningrad region.

Roundup of Reports on Regional Voter Turnout

LD1712065095

[FBIS Editorial Report] The following is a roundup of reports received overnight at London Bureau on voter turnout in the State Duma elections in the Russian Far East and other regions.

Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 0040 GMT on 17 December ITAR-TASS correspondents Leonid Vinogradov and Yevgeniya Lents note in a Vladivostok-datelined report that: "Judging by the turnout in Maritime Territory, voters are more active during the present elections to the State Duma than during similar occasions in the past. ITAR-TASS has learned from unofficial sources that over 10,000 people have already cast their votes in the first minutes after the opening of polling stations in Maritime Territory. All 1,451 polling stations in the area opened at 0800 local time [2200 GMT 16 December]. But according to observers, in Vladivostok, Nakhodka, Ussuriysk, and other towns of Maritime Territory, people turned up at polling stations at 0700, wondering why they had not opened at 0600 like they used to. Representatives of the Territory's electoral commissions note with regret that older people are more active than young people who have not been seen at polling stations this morning."

Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 0058 GMT on 17 December, in a Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy-datelined report, ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Borovkov reports that: "In the first hour after the beginning of the elections to the State Duma, 2.1 percent of voters cast their votes on Kamchatka, an ITAR-TASS correspondent has been told at the Region's electoral committee. The turnout is similar to the one at the last elections two years ago. Aleytskiy and Sobolevskiy Districts are the most active (the turnout of more than three percent). By 1100 local time [2300 GMT 16 December] the turnout had become much more brisk. People were crowding at many polling stations in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy. There were lines to the booths. Members of electoral commissions and monitors from various political parties confirm a sharply-increased turnout."

Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 0300 notes that: "Voting in the elections to the State Duma is in full swing in Russia's eastern regions. Two hours after the start of the voting, by 0200 Moscow time [2300 GMT 16 December] and 1000 local time, the number of voters who had cast their votes on the islands of Kunashir, Shikotan and the Small Kuril range had exceeded 25 percent of the number of registered voters entitled to vote. By 1000 hours local and 0400 hours Moscow time, some 40,000 people had cast their votes in Chita Region, or approximately 5 percent of all voters on the register. The elections are taking place without excesses in strict accordance with the law, it was stressed at the Region's electoral commission."

On Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0330 GMT Viktor Korotkikh, the Mayak correspondent in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, reports live from Sakhalin that in the morning rural inhabitants were most actively taking part in the elections: by 1200 over 30 percent of the voters had voted at rural polling stations. By 1400, the elections were deemed valid in Yuzhno-Kurilsk District and in most districts turnout approaches 25 percent.

At 0400 GMT, Mayak Radio's Vladivostok correspondent Oleg Padenko in a live report said: "According to the data of the territorial commissions and independent observers an exceptionally high turnout of the electorate has been noted in Maritime Territory. They believe that this has not occurred since the elections of the current president. During the first hours from five to 20 percent of the electorate came to the polling stations." He notes that Maritime Territory people are voting in three elections — the State Duma elections, the local duma elections, and elections for the local governor. He says that by 1200 27 per cent of the electorate had voted in Vladivostok, according to the data of the Territory's electoral commission. He says that in the Far Eastern region the highest turnout is being observed in Komsomolsk-na-Amur. He goes on to say: "Thank God, for the time being no infringements or excesses have been observed."

Moscow ITAR-TASS in Russian at 0430 GMT in a report datelined Krasnoyarsk notes that voting has begun in Siberia. In the first two hours the turnout was brisk in Krasnoyarsk — 3.4 percent cast their votes. In

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Norilsk, the turnout was sluggish: just over 1 percent have voted so far.

In Moscow-datelined report at 0243 GMT, it was noted that in the first two hours 9.3 percent of an electorate of 56,000 voted in Chukotka.

At 0217 GMT, in a Komsomolsk-on-Amur-datelined report, TASS notes that in Komsomolsk-on-Amur, voting was delayed due to a hoax telephone call. At 0730 local time, half-an-hour before voting was due to begin, an anonymous caller said there was a bomb at one of the polling stations. Bomb disposal specialists, who were urgently called to the scene, found no bomb.

At 0505 GMT, in a Khabarovsk-datelined report, TASS notes that turnout was brisk in Khabarovsk Territory: by 1200 17.4 percent of voters had cast their votes. Some polling stations registered the turnout between 50 and 70 percent.

TASS notes at 0439 GMT, in a Palana-datelined report, that in Koryak autonomous district the elections are deemed valid; by 1400 39.6 percent had voted.

In an 0440 GMT Ulan-Ude-datelined report, TASS notes that in Buryatia, more than five percent cast their votes in the first two hours. Similarly, in Yakutia, 5.6 percent voted in the first two hours, a Moscow-datelined report notes at 0416 GMT. The report also notes that in Khakassia, the turnout was sluggish: 3.6 percent had cast their votes by 1000 local time.

On Mayak Radio at 0500 GMT, Mayak's Tyumen Region correspondent Sergey Fateyev in a live report notes that at 1000 in the Tyumen Region, the temperature is minus 20 and voting is in progress at all 1,695 polling stations in the region. The first data on the number of votes is not yet available, but he says that there has not been a single report on any infringements or incidents.

TASS at 0311 GMT in a Vladivostok-datelined report notes that: "The first two hours which have elapsed since the polling stations in Maritime Territory opened show that the Territory's rural inhabitants are turning out to vote in the elections to the State Duma in higher numbers than the townsfolk. According to the electoral commissions no more than five percent of the electorate voted in the towns during this time. In rural districts this indicator is almost twice as high. For instance, in Ussuriysk by 1000 4.8 percent of the electorate had cast their votes whereas in the agricultural Mikhaylovskiy District 8.7 per cent had cast their votes."

According to ITAR-TASS report from Chita at 0611 GMT, the elections are declared valid in Chita Region where by 1400 local time [0500 GMT] about 34 percent of voters had cast their votes. According to another report from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk at 0557 GMT, by 1400 local time [0300 GMT] 31 percent had voted.

A TASS report from Vladivostok at 0635 GMT notes that elections were declared valid on the Russian Pacific coast — the 25-percent threshold of the turnout in the elections to the State Duma was been passed. By 1400 local time [0400 GMT], 35.43 percent had cast their votes, an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the territory's electoral commission.

Central Electoral Commission Outlines Elections

LD1512154495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 15 (INTERFAX) — On December 17, simultaneously with parliamentary elections, elections to the supreme representative and executive bodies will be held in Russia's constituent entities, the Central Electoral Commission told INTERFAX.

In 15 constituent entities, including the Altai, Buryatia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Mordovia, Karelia, Khakassia, the Krasnodar territory, and the Vladimir, Voronezh, Kostroma, Lipetsk, Nizhniy Novgorod, Omsk, Sverdlovsk and Tambov regions, elections to the local self-government bodies will be held.

Referendums will be held in six constituent members of the Federation.

A referendum on land ownership and on independence will be held in Bashkortostan.

A referendum will also be held in Mordovia. The citizens are to state whether they support the idea of prolonging the powers of the republic's State Assembly, local governments and the leaders of the local governments until December 1999.

In the Volgograd region a referendum will be held on the charter of the city of Vologda and in the Kemerovo region - on the charters of the local governments.

A referendum will be held in the Kursk region on the organization of local self-government, and in the Chelyabinsk region on the charters of the municipal authorities.

Heads of the regional administration will be elected in 13 regions, including the Maritime territory, and the Belgorod, Lipetsk, Moscow, Novosibirsk, Orenburg, Tambov, Tver, Tomsk, Yaroslavl and Omsk regions. Governors will be elected in the Novgorod and Nizhniy Novgorod regions, and a mayor in Yaroslavl.

The elections of deputies to the supreme legislative bodies will be held in 13 constituent entities.

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Bashkortostan will elect deputies to the State Assembly from one electoral district, and Buryatia — to the People's Khural, also from one electoral district.

In Tuva deputies will be elected to the Supreme Khural from two electoral districts and in Chuvashia — to the State Council from 14 electoral districts.

The Maritime territory will elect deputies to the territorial Duma from nine electoral districts, and the Khabarovsk territory — from six electoral districts. In the Belgorod region deputies will be elected to the regional Duma from three electoral districts and in the Volgograd region — from two electoral districts.

Deputies will be elected to the regional dumas in the Moscow and Murmansk regions from two electoral districts, and in the Novgorod region from eight electoral districts. The Ulyanovsk region will elect deputies to the regional legislative assembly and the Taimyr (Dolgano-Nenets) Autonomous District will elect deputies to the district Duma from three electoral districts.

Zyuganov Hopes for Success in Single-Mandate Districts

LD1812122195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (INTERFAX) — The leader of the Russian Communist Party Gennadiy Zyuganov hopes that the list of the future Communist group in the Duma will be considerably expanded at the expense of deputies elected in single-mandate districts.

"We expect a good addition from single-mandate districts," he told INTERFAX Monday [18 December] morning.

The preliminary election returns (over 20% of voters supported Communists) are in line with his expectations.

"We are happy that we were supported by primordial Russian territories - Central Russia, the Volga region, the Kuznetsk coal basin, and this should make everyone think," Zyuganov said.

He hoped that Agrarians and Women of Russia would clear the 5% barrier because the Communist Party regards them as allies.

Zyuganov accounted the poor performance of the Congress of Russian Communities to the fact that the movement started operating only half a year ago and has not won the necessary influence. "This time Russian citizens evidently preferred to stake on better known parties," he felt.

Zyuganov thinks the Communist group in the Duma will be the biggest and start out by taking steps to improve the general situation in the country and in the economy. Among the key problems he named the growth of prices, crime and unemployment.

"We are not dropping the question of stopping hostilities in Chechnya from the agenda," he stressed. "I am satisfied that elections were held there and such an experienced and restrained politician as Doku Zavgayev was elected its leader. People realized that it is better to vote by casting ballots than using guns," Zyuganov declared.

Leadership Changes in One Moscow Single-Mandate District

LD1812121295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (INTERFAX) — According to the chairman of the Moscow City Electoral Commission Valentin Gorbunov at 8 a.m. [0500 GMT] monday [18 December], the leader in Moscow's 205th single-mandate electoral district changed to Arkadiy Murashov (Russia's Democratic Choice).

In the 14 other districts the leaders are the same: 191st - Eduard Vorobyov (Russia's Democratic Choice), 192nd Telman Gdlyan (independent), 193rd Aleksey Golovkov (independent), 194th Vladimir Lysenko (Pamfilova-Gurov-Lysenko coalition), 195th Boris Fyodorov (Forward Russia), 196th Georgy Boos (independent), 197th Irina Khakamada (Joint Cause), 198th Valeriy Borshchev (Yabloko), 199th Aleksandr Zhukov (Forward Russia), 200th Konstantin Borovoy (Party of Economic Freedom), 201st Pavel Bunich (independent), 202nd Nikolay Gonchar (independent), 203rd Pavel Medvedev (bloc 89), 204th Sergey Kovalyov (Russia's Democratic Choice).

Communists Keep Lead; 'Our Home' Improves Standing

LD1812023195 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 0208 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation informed Moscow Echo radio station that as a result of the processing of 4 million ballot papers in 45 regions of Russia, the following preliminary results were obtained:

Communist Party: 23.1 percent
Liberal Democratic Party of Russia: 13.9 percent
Russia Is Our Home: 7.8 percent
Yabloko: 6.3 percent
Women of Russia: 5.4 percent

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Chernomyrdin Bloc Consolidates Lead in Moscow

LD1812002595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0014 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russia Is Our Home election bloc of premier Viktor Chernomyrdin has reportedly consolidated its lead in Moscow.

The Russian television quoted early returns as saying the bloc has won 18.2 percent and was followed by the Communist party of Gennadiy Zyuganov with 14.8 percent.

The reformist Yabloko bloc of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and the Democratic Russia's Choice of Yegor Gaydar won 11.6 and 8.5 percent correspondingly.

The five per cent hurdle was also overcome in Moscow by the nationalist Liberal Democtratic party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy with 5.17 percent.

Close to crossing the hurdle was the nationalist Congress of Russian Communities with 4.86 percent.

The TV network specified the results were received from three per cent of the Moscow constituencies.

Progress in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Chechnya Reported

LD1712163395 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Elections to the State Duma can be considered to be valid. Our special correspondent Georgiy Savtsov is at the federal information center of the Central Electoral Commission. Over to him.

[Savtsov] The news conference given by Aleksandr Vishnyakov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission, has just ended. He drew our attention to the fact that the electorate has naturally been more active this year than in 1993, almost by 10-12 percent. In addition, he stated that voters have been active particularly in rural areas and in the areas where elections are held to local organs of power. At the same time it has been added that Moscow is voting faster than St. Petersburg. We can only speculate why this is so.

[Presenter] Our special correspondent in Groznyy Vladimir Trushkovskiy will report on the progress of elections in the Chechen republic.

[Trushkovskiy] It is too early to talk about concrete figures or percentages. But according to some report, out of 460,000 people on the voting list of the republic, about 200,000 have voted. Unfortunately despite invitations, foreign observers and representatives of the European Parliament have failed to turn up in Chechnya. I will remind you that representatives of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] mission left Groznyy after the warning by the supporters of Dudayev about the preparation of terrorist attacks the aim of which would be to disrupt elections. [passage omitted]

Observers To Visit Polls in Moscow, Regions

LD1612123195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1211 GMT 16 Dec 95

[By Yuriy Kozlov and Vladimir Suprun]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 16 (ITAR-TASS) — Foreign observers plan to visit nearly all polling stations in the Russian capital on the election day to the State Duma (Russian parliament lower house), Bernard Owen, secretary-general of the Paris centre of comparative studies on holding elections, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS here on Saturday.

He came to Moscow as an expert to coordinate activities of evidently the most numerous group of foreign observers from among representatives of member countries of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the European Union and other prestigious international organisations.

Owen said that his group consisted of 434 observers from 32 European countries as well as the United States and Canada. Over a third of them (155) will work in Moscow, another 65 — in St. Petersburg and the rest (214) — in other Russian regions.

He noted that observers would seek to visit the greatest possible number of polling stations across Russia and plan to go to 91 constituencies out of 225. Observers will be represented in 45 subjects of the Russian Federation.

According to Owen, the tasks of observers are defined very clearly and spelled out in a special booklet which each of them has.

They are to turn up at a polling station on the election day, meet, on the spot, representatives of election commissions and law enforcement bodies, members of political parties and non-government organisations as well as to talk with rank-and-file voters.

Observers will be also present at ballot counting at all the levels up to the Central Election Commission.

The aim of the group also is to show the great attention paid by the world community to the Russian elections, Owen continued.

Besides, the effect of the presence of foreign observers is both important and extremely useful to a society

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following the road of strengthening democracy, he stressed.

The elections over, foreign observers will submit individual reports, on the basis of which a general picture will be gleaned and appropriate conclusions drawn. The final report is planned to be drafted and published by next January 7.

According to information received by ITAR-TASS at the Russian Foreign Ministry, over 900 observers from more than 50 countries and 10 international organisations were accredited to the Central Election Commission.

Agrarian Leader: Most Parties Want Land Redistribution

LD1512140195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1131 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUBNEVO, the Moscow region, Dec 15 (INTERFAX) — Agrarian Party leader Mikhail Lapshin warned that most of the parties and blocs taking part in the December 17 elections are in favor of land redistribution in Russia, as he met with residents in his home village of Dubnevo in the Stupino district of the Moscow region.

"The election platforms of most parties and election blocs are pushing Russia towards another redistribution of land," he said.

Lapshin strongly criticized what he described as "witches' sabath" over the referendum on private land ownership in the run-up to the elections by the leaders of Russia Is Our Home (Viktor Chernomyrdin), the Democratic Choice of Russia (Yegor Gaydar), and the Party of Russian Unity and Accord (Sergey Shakhray).

Lapshin said their allies who supported the disastrous reform policy wanted the sale of land, also including farmland, but concealed their intentions.

He said that the Yabloko movement (leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy) dreamed of a market of land and that the Party of Economic Freedom (leader Konstantin Borovoy) wanted unrestricted ownership and uncontrolled purchase and sale of land.

Lapshin believes that farm-workers should be very cautious about the proposal of the Communist Party (leader Gennadiy Zyuganov) for the restoration of national ownership of land, because "we already know what this is all about."

Lapshin believes that avoiding another redistribution of land, something that always led to bloodshed in Russia, will be possible only if a new parliament elected on December 17 adopts the land code drafted by the agrarian deputies.

Earlier, the State Duma turned down the draft after the second reading. The draft permits the purchase and sale of small plots taken by individual country gardens and land taken by private homes and garages.

Voter Turnout High Among Russians Abroad

LD1712143695 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1300 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Russian citizens who are abroad came to the polling stations at 0800 local time. The voting stops in the evening at 2200. According to local observers, in the countries of the Asian-Pacific region, where the voting is already coming to an end, the level of activity of the voters has been sufficiently high — 70 to 80 percent.

In Israel, we simply did not expect that such a large number of people would want to take part in the elections, Aleksandr Bovin, the ambassador of the Russian Federation to Israel, said. [passage omitted: ambassador describes the lines of people waiting to vote]

Federal Border Service Election Arrangements Reported

MK1612124395 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Yuriy Golotyuk: "Russian Border Guards Cast Ballots at Any Cost. Delivery of Ballots May Become Combat Operation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Your SEGODNYA correspondent has come to learn that about 1,000 enlisted men and officers in the Russian Federation border troops have already voted. They include the crews of four patrol ships on duty at sea and the personnel of 15 frontier posts and security outposts who cannot be anywhere close to ballot boxes on election day for purely objective reasons. It is true that nobody can so far tell who they cast their ballots for because the ballot boxes with the marked ballots will only be opened the night of 17 December. According to Colonel General Nikolay Bordyuzha, Russian Federation Federal Border Service [FPS] deputy director, this is, however, only a small part of the "border guard electorate," which comprises about 200,000 voters.

There will be 39 polling stations functioning on Sunday at Russian border guard units (eight of them in Tajikistan, 4 in Kyrgyzstan, 10 in Georgia, and 12 in Armenia [figures as published]). A majority of border

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guards will be casting ballots at 676 open, civilian stations designated by the FPS for its subordinates. Even those currently guarding the Chechnya border will be able to vote at ordinary polling stations although located on the territory of Dagestan and Ingushetia.

Certain difficulties have arisen in the northernmost Russian frontier post of Nagurskaya located on Franz Josef Land: It has so far been impossible to deliver ballot sheets there because of the polar night and extremely unfavorable weather conditions. Nevertheless, they say in the FPS, "there are two voting options, approved by the Central Electoral Commission (incidentally, it is not ruled out that bundles with ballot sheets may be air-dropped). Ballot sheets for Russian border guards in Tajikistan at alpine frontier posts have made a no less difficult journey: Shipping them, according to the FPS, has proven to be a veritable "combat operation." Since airlifting them to the Pamir was prevented by bad weather, the forms had to be routed to Osh in Kyrgyzstan, whence they had to be brought to the Russian frontier posts in the Pamir along the alpine trails running across mountain passes at 4,000 meters above sea level accompanied by armored vehicles (since that section of the mountains lies in the zone of combats between the Tajik opposition and the government forces).

Despite all the difficulties, according to Mr. Bordyuzha, "all the formalities called for by the election law will be impeccably observed among the troops." Notably, as the general put it, "none of the electoral blocs or associations was allowed to campaign on the territory of FPS units although such requests have come to the headquarters from practically all of them."

LDPR Takes Lead in Maritime Territory Voting

LD1812052695 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the preliminary data from the "Elections" state automated system, the LDPR has taken the lead in Maritime Territory on the federal list in the State Duma elections with 22 percent of the vote. It is followed by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, Yabloko, Women of Russia, and Russia Is Our Home.

Eastern Regions Preliminary Election Results

LD1812003595 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 0022 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation told Moscow Echo station that, according to preliminary information, as of 0210 Moscow time, as a result of partial processing of ballot papers, in 24 eastern regions of Russia, the votes were cast in the following way:

Communist Party of the Russian Federation — 25.9 percent.
Liberal Democratic Party of Russia — 15.3 per cent.
Women of Russia — six percent.
Our Home is Russia — 5.7 percent.
Yabloko — 5.5 percent.

Yeltsin 'Foe' Goryacheva Elected To Duma From Far East

LD1812024895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0211 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VLADIVOSTOK, December 18 (ITAR-TASS) — Svetlana Goryacheva, the ally-turned-foe of President Boris Yeltsin, was elected overwhelmingly to the State Duma in the one-seat constituency in Vladivostok in the Far East, according to early returns.

Tass learned from the local election commission on Monday that Goryacheva, the No. 2 person in the list of the Communist party of Gennadiy Zyuganov, won over 50 per cent of the vote in the region.

Goryacheva, born in 1947, became Yeltsin's deputy in 1990 when he was the speaker of the Russian parliament. She was widely viewed as his closest ally, but in February 1991 she sharply criticised the policy of the Russian leader and switched to the opposition. On August 31, 1991 Goryacheva resigned, joined the Communist party and worked in her native Far Eastern region since then.

She succeeded to become one of the most popular politicians in the Far East. She enjoys the reputation of the "most honest person" there.

Communists, LDPR Leading in South Siberia Regions

LD1812000195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2353 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ABAKAN, December 18 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian Communist party of Gennadiy Zyuganov and the nationalist Liberal Democratic party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy [LDPR] are leading in three south Siberian regions, according to early returns.

In the republic of Khakassia both parties were in the lead, chairwoman of the local election commission Nadezhda Romanova told Tass on Monday without giving any figures.

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In the Krasnoyarsk region the communists enjoyed 18 percent of the turnout, while the Liberal Democratic party was second with 13 percent.

In the Altay region 30 percent of the turnout voted for the communists, according to the preliminary information of the local election commission. The LDPR was second followed by the Agrarian party, the Our Home is Russia and the Yabloko bloc.

The communists and the LDPR were also leading in the Far East.

Nazdratenko Reportedly Leading Far East Election

LD1712164195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1536 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VLADIVOSTOK, Dec 17 (INTERFAX-EURASIA) — According to preliminary estimates, incumbent Primorye Governor Yevgeniy Nazdratenko received 60 to 70 percent of votes in gubernatorial elections in the Far Eastern region, informed sources in Primorye administration told INTERFAX-EURASIA.

In order to be elected, a candidate must get the support of over 50 percent of those who come to the polls.

Viktor Cherepkov, former Vladivostok mayor, Vladimir Gilgenberg, a former city official and Leonid Vilchinskiy, Khorolskiy district head, also competed for the Primorye governorship.

Commission Reports Maritime, Sakhalin Turnout

LD1712162395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1554 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] MOSCOW, 17 December (ITAR-TASS) — In Maritime Territory and Sakhalin Region, electoral commissions have released first information about the voting there, which has now ended.

Dmitriy Kashirin, the ITAR-TASS correspondent in Vladivostok, reports that according to provisional figures, the turnout for the State Duma election in Maritime Territory was 62.1 percent, i.e., about 956,000 people cast their votes. Officials at the territorial electoral commission noted that voting in these elections has been much brisker than in 1993. At times there were queues at polling stations.

The electoral commission in Sakhalin Region also says that voter turnout was substantial. Valeriy Gvozdikov, an ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent, reports from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk that the number of voters there was greatly in excess of 60 percent. Viktor Klevtsov, chairman of the regional electoral commission, says the turnout was high because people realize that Russia's future depends

Election Turnout Estimated in Siberia

LD1712153195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (INTERFAX-EURASIA) — Elections to Russia's State Duma have taken place in the majority of Russia's regions from the Pacific coast to the Urals, according to data received by INTERFAX-EURASIA from territorial, regional, and republican election commissions.

The percentage of voters who took part in the elections has exceeded 50 percent in many regions. Among them are Sakhalin, Kamchatka, the Primorye and Khabarovsk territories, Chukotka, the Altay territory. A turnout of 25 percent is necessary to recognize the elections valid.

At present the greatest activity is noted in the regions of western Siberia and in the Urals region.

Elections in Bashkortostan (near the Urals) are coming to a close. On the average about 49 percent of voters took part in the elections in this republic and 30 percent of voters in the Sverdlovsk region.

The Nizhniy Novgorod region is nearing the 25 percent barrier. The regional elections commission told INTERFAX-EURASIA that activity of voters was about 40 percent with about a third of Nizhniy Novgorod region voting districts reporting in.

YEKATERINBURG, Dec 17 (INTERFAX-EURASIA) — A negative assessment of the elections to Russia's State Duma by foreign monitors may hinder Russia's admittance to the European Union, EU monitors said at a press conference in Yekaterinburg.

Four representatives of the European Union intend to follow elections in Yekaterinburg and the Sverdlovsk region where there are seven single mandate districts. At the same time they said that overseeing the calculation process at the State Duma elections is of an estimate nature. Foreign monitors have no legal influence over the outcome.

They declared that they have appropriate experience of work in Russia in order to present an objective analysis of the democratic process in Russia and, in particular, in the Urals.

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State Duma Elections Continue in Far East Region

LD1712132895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] YAKUTSK, Dec 17 (INTERFAX-Eurasia) — Despite frosts of minus 40 degrees Celsius, turnout in Yakutia has been high. By 2 p.m. local time, 34 percent of that republic's electorate cast ballots, the republican electoral commission has reported, adding that information about voting in remote areas of Yakutia has been delayed because of fogs, due to which aviators have been unable to deliver collected ballots to the electoral commission.

BIROBIDZHAN — Elections to the State Duma have taken place in the Jewish Autonomous Region, where more than 41 percent of the electorate voted by 2 p.m. local time, an INTERFAX correspondent has reported.

BARNAUL — Elections have taken place in the Altay region, where by 10 a.m. 39 percent of the registered voters came to the polls, the regional electoral commission has reported, adding that the turnout is 7 percent higher than at the 1993 elections. Rural voters have been the most active part of the electorate. Voting has been going smoothly, the regional interior department has reported.

CHITA — A bit over 33 percent of the voters cast ballots by 2 p.m. local time.

In the Aga Buryat autonomous region, a little more than 42 percent of the electorate voted by 2 p.m. local time.

IRKUTSK — Almost 15 percent of the voters cast ballots in the Irkutsk region by noon local time.

Elections have taken place in the Ust-Ordyn Buryat autonomous district since almost 41 percent of the electorate voted by 2 p.m. local time.

MAGADAN — More than 46 percent of the electorate in the Magadan region came to polling stations by 10 a.m. Moscow time.

DUDINKA — Elections have also taken place in the Taymyr Autonomous District, where 27 percent of the voters cast ballots by 10 p.m.

According to local interior bodies, elections have been under way smoothly without any public disturbances, which, as electoral commission representatives believe is a result of strict security measures, taken at polling stations.

Six Associations Exceed 5 Percent in St. Petersburg

LD1812100595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0932 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By Natalya Cherepanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ST. PETERSBURG, December 18 (ITAR-TASS) — Preliminary results of Sunday's elections to Russia's State Duma have been summed up in all the eight districts here.

The results have confirmed that most Petersburgers symphatise with the Yabloko movement which has polled 16 percent of the vote.

The Yabloko is followed up by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) with 13.3, Our Home is Russia — 12.7 percent, Russia's Democratic Choice - United Democrats — 12.2 percent, the Workers' Self-Organisation Party (WSOP) — 6.5 percent, and the Congress of Russian Communities (CRC) — 5.1 percent of the vote.

Approaching closely to the 5-percent barrier are the "Communists' Coalition - Labour of Russia - For the Soviet Union" bloc (3.8 percent of the vote), the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (3.4 percent), and the Women of Russia movement (2.8 percent of the vote). The results achieved by the rest of the blocs account for tenths of a percent.

The voter registers in St. Petersburg included 3,675,455 names, and about 60 percent of them went to the polls. When the ballot boxes were opened, 1,943,070 ballot papers were recognised as valid.

Yabloko Bloc Leads in St. Petersburg Area

LD1812063495 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0550 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nataliya Cherepanova]

[FBIS Translated Text] St. Petersburg, 18 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — At 0830 Moscow time [0530 GMT] Yabloko, for which 16.1 percent of the electorate in St. Petersburg gave their votes, is leading in the elections to the State Duma in the city on the Neva. It is followed by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation - 13.3 percent and Russia Is Our Home — 12.8 percent. Russia's Democratic Choice - United Democrats received 12.1 percent and the Congress of Russian Communities received 5.1 percent.

Only one constituency — the 206th Admiralteyskiy - has not yet summed up the results.

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'Scandal' as Polling Station Runs Out of Ballot Papers

LD1712183695 St. Petersburg Fifth Channel Television Network in Russian 1630 GMT 17 Dec 95

[Video report by "Inform-TV" correspondent Nadezhda Khokhlova]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Khokhlova] What happened at many polling stations in Moskovskiy district today, including the ones we visited, can certainly be called a scandal. The election organizers were clearly caught out by the high turnout of citizens. Polling stations ran out of ballot papers at 1200. People waited in vain for voting to start up again, but after two to three hours many of them just went home and so did not vote. The most determined tried to get justice.

[Begin recording] [Male voter] I tried to ring the city Electoral Commission. I got through, but at first no one answered the telephone. I rang for five minutes. I began to demand that someone give me a number in Moscow where I could contact Nikolay Ryabov at the Central Electoral Commission. They all told me that they were not in communication. How can it be that they are not in communication with the Central Electoral Commission in Moscow on elections day?

[Female voter] How many people left?

[Second female voter] Half the people.

[Third female voter] That is why they do it, so that people do not vote. [end recording]

[Khokhlova] Packets of ballot papers were brought from the Moskovskiy district administration at 1500. They just needed to be given out to the voters.

[Begin V.A. Gerbolinskiy recording, deputy head of the Moskovskiy District administration] This is not a provocation. Of course, the turnout is, fortunately, better than even we expected. [end recording]

[Khokhlova] All these mistakes and violations could lead to the election results being deemed invalid. [video shows queues of people at a polling station inside a sports hall]

St. Petersburg Polling Stations Run Out of Ballots

LD1712134295

[FBIS Editorial Report] St. Petersburg Fifth Channel Television Network in Russian at 1230 GMT on 17 December carries a 4-minute live report from the St Petersburg TV election information center. TV-Inform Correspondent Lada Meshcherikova says that by 1500 [1200 GMT] telephone calls were coming in from at four least of the city's polling stations where they had run out of ballot papers.

Meshcherikova says, "According to one voter who phoned in, the members of the electoral commission at central constituency polling station No 1171, on Tchaikovsky Street, found a rather unconventional way out of the situation, making up for the lack of ballot papers by printing them out before the very eyes of an astonished public, which did not inspire them with much confidence, really." This, Meshcherikova points out, is in direct violation of the law.

The latest report to come in — as yet unconfirmed, Meshcherikova adds — is from polling station No 344, where the official stamp has been stolen.

Petersburg Commission Warns Voters About Slander

LD1712103095 St. Petersburg Fifth Channel Television Network in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Just before we came on the air, we received a statement from the electoral commission for Northwestern Constituency No. 209, Constituency Commission No. 209, for the northwestern electoral constituency of St. Petersburg, has received information that certain individuals have acquired voters' home telephone numbers and are telephoning them, identifying themselves as the staff of a city sociological center. While talking about the forthcoming elections, they are deliberately spreading slanderous reports about a number of candidates running for the State Duma.

Given that under electoral law, all campaigning is categorically forbidden after 0000 hours on 16 December, the electoral commission regards such telephone calls as provocations and asks voters to be on their guard and to take information about candidate deputies only from legal sources. The city prosecutor's office is verifying the incidents mentioned.

Communists Lead in Northern Region of Arkhangelsk

LD1812044895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0344 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ARKHANGELSK, December 18 (ITAR-TASS) - Communists were in the lead also in the northern Russian Arkhangelsk region followed immediately by eye surgeon-turned-businessman Svyatoslav Fedorov, according to Gennadiy Kiselev, the chairman of the local election commmission who quoted early returns of elections in the region.

He told the Russian TV on Monday that the Communists of Gennadiy Zyuganov got 15.2 percent support in the

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region and were followed by Fedorov's Workers' Self-organisation Party with 11.5 percent.

The reformist Yabloko bloc was the third with 7.3 percent, the Women of Russia also won 7.3 percent, the Our Home is Russia of premier Viktor Chernomyrdin got 7 percent followed by the Democratic Russia's Choice of Yegor Gaydar with 5.1 per cent.

The nationalists of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy were not mentioned by Kiselev at all.

Kozyrev Pulls Ahead in Murmansk Duma Race

LD1712163795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1536 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — According to preliminary results of the vote held at the most distant electoral districts of the Murmansk constituency No. 116, Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is in the lead among other candidates running to the State Duma in this district, a source close to the Russian foreign minister told INTERFAX Sunday.

Elections ahead of time were held on military ships at sea and in the populated centers which have no automobile communication with Murmansk, the source said.

Twelve more candidates, including Lyubov Zhirinovskaya, sister of the LDPR leader, are running to the State Duma in the Murmansk electoral district No 116.

Final results of the vote in this district will be known only by 8:00 a.m. of October 18, according to the source.

In line with Russia's Constitution, Kozyrev will have to leave the post of foreign minister if he is elected to the State Duma.

Early Results Show Zavgayev Victor in Chechnya

LD1812054895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0529 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Groznyy, 18 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — According to preliminary information of the republic's electoral commission, Doku Zavgayev has been elected head of the Chechen republic. He received more than 80 percent of the votes.

In an exclusive interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent Zavgayev said that he would concentrate his attention on the implementation of the agreement signed between the Chechen republic and the Russian Federation on the republic's special status. In his opinion, nationwide elections of the legislative power body and also a referendum on the future status of the Chechen republic will be held in the very near future. [passage omitted]

Chechnya Voting Activity Deemed 'Exceptional'

LD1712190395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1841 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By Sergey Bazhenov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 17 (ITAR-TASS) — The chairman of Chechnya' election commission, Abdulkerim Arsakhanov, described as exceptional the voting activity in Chechnya's co-elections of its new leadership and of the Russian State Duma.

The elections, over at 15.00 p.m. today, have been far more successful and smooth than expected, Arsakhanov said.

He said there was a flood of people to Groznyy on the eve of the elections. They were coming from remote villages, where tension prevented full freedom of voting.

As a result, today's turnout in Groznyy proved above the figure of city's population, exceeding 100 per cent, Arsakhanov said.

He sounded sure that the elections have been valid, even though the counting of votes is only in progress.

The commission chairman added that return of ballot papers from some areas was problematic at nighttime.

Early Results Put Zavgayev as Chechen Head of State

LD1712163995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1536 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — First Deputy Chairman of the federal civilian administration in Chechnya Vladimir Zorin told INTERFAX today that, according to early results from four Chechen regions, Moscow-backed Chechen Prime Minister Doku Zavgayev had won the elections for Chechen head of state.

About 80 percent of voters in Chechnya's Groznyy, Sunzhen, Urus-Martan and Nadterechny regions cast their ballots in favor of Zavgayev, Zorin said.

With regard to the State Duma elections in Chechnya, Zorin said the Russia is Our Home electoral bloc led by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin was the obvious leader. According to early estimations, Russia is Our Home mustered about 30 percent of votes, Zorin said.

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By their provocations the opponents of the elections in Chechnya achieved a contrary result, Zorin said. He said this was proved by the voter turnout which, according to early estimations, was 40.6 percent in Chechnya on the whole and 73.2 percent in Groznyy, the Chechen capital.

"Elections in Chechnya took place obviously and irreversibly," Zorin said. "They showed that the people voted for peace and a strong executive power," he said.

'No Incidents' Reported in Groznyy During Elections

LD1712152195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — As of 1:00 p.m. of December 17 there have been no incidents on the last day of elections in Groznyy, the republican interior department told our INTERFAX correspondent. "All personnel of the patrol service and OMON (riot police) are fulfilling their tasks to ensure security at the elections."

Several patrols have dogs at their disposal in case explosive devices are found at the electoral districts.

About 100 explosive devices have been found in Groznyy over the last three weeks.

27 Percent Turnout So Far in Chechen Capital

LD1512150795 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1200 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Voting in Groznyy continued today. According to official data from Russian representatives about 27 percent of the electorate have already taken part in the elections in the Chechen capital. Thus it means that under local regulations the elections in Groznyy are already valid. Sergey Kovalev, chairman of the human rights commission, links the upsurge in fighting with the elections.

[Begin Kovalev recording] This, precisely, has been predicted by all those who opposed the elections in Chechnya. I am afraid this will not be the last upsurge. In spite of the bloodshed, by hook or by crook somebody wants to appoint his man in Chechnya as a boss. [end recording]

Voter Activity in Chechnya 'Sharply Increased'

LD1712130795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — Voter activity "has sharply increased" on Sunday, the last day of elections in Chechnya, chairman of Chechnya's Central Electoral Commission Abdul-Kerim Arsakhanov told INTERFAX. More than 70 percent of voters have voted in the Chechen capital as of 11:20 a.m. (compared with 55.5 percent at 9:00 a.m. on Saturday).

"The moment has come when the people are demonstrating wisdom, when they understood that they are poised on the edge, either to disappear, or to revive," Arsakhanov said. "Elections in Chechnya took place not on a wave of euphoria but on a wave of tragedy, that's why the people deeply realize the need of elections."

The percentage of those who voted in Groznyy on Sunday morning has also increased, according to an INTERFAX correspondent. As many as 72 percent of voters have voted in the Staropromyslovsky district (against 35 percent at 9:00 a.m. on Saturday), about 86 percent have already voted in the Oktyabrsky district (compared with 42 percent on Saturday.) The greatest activity was registered in the Leninsky district, with 90 percent (against 70 percent on Saturday).

Ballot-boxes with ballot-papers are supposed to be transported to Groznyy from the regions after the elections are finished at 3:00 p.m.

Deputy Prime Minister of the Chechen government Bislan Gantamirov told INTERFAX that additional security measures would be undertaken to deliver ballot-boxes to Groznyy.

Zavgayev: Voting Shows Chechen's Favor Stabilization

LD1712102595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0953 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By Sergey Trofimov, Ruslan Maysigov, and Sharip Asuyev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY December 17 (ITAR-TASS) — Representative of the Russian President in Chechnya Oleg Lobov and head of the Chechen government Doku Zavgayev cast their ballots today at polling station No. 29, opened in the hall of the Severnyy airport in Groznyy.

After the voting Zavgayev told journalists: "The turnout is rather high at the elections. According to preliminary information, they may already be considered valid. This shows that people want peace and civil accord, and that they are supporting the steps taken by the government of the republic, as well as the federal authorities, with the aim to achieve the stabilization of the situation there."

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Eligible Voters Turn Out in Tajikistan

LD1812121795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, Dec 18 (INTERFAX) — Russian citizens, residing in Tajikistan, supported the Russian Communist Party (some 22 percent), the Congress of Russian Communities (about 13 percent) and the Liberal-Democratic Party (about 12 percent) in the Duma elections, a counsel of the Russian embassy in Dushanbe Felix Dovzhenok told INTERFAX Monday.

According to the local electoral commission, 100 percent of eligible electors participated in the voting by 9 AM on December 18. The overall number of voters twice exceeded their number back in 1993.

Some 10 percent of servicemen of the 201st Russian division stationed in Tajikistan supported the Our Home is Russia bloc. A total of 30 percent of border guards from the Khorog border unit, the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous District, voted for the Liberal- Democratic Party, and 10 percent of them supported the Beer Lovers' Party.

In the words of Dovzhenok, Russian citizens in Tajikistan were model voters. The Duma elections "were calm, organized and held without any excesses."

Tartar Nationalists Arrested for Tearing Russian Flags

LD1712164895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1536 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KAZAN, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — Six Tartar nationalist activists were arrested in Kazan as they were tearing down Russian flags outside polling stations.

Marat Mulyukov, an official of the Tartar Public Center, is trying to organize picketing of the former Bauman district interior board where the arrested men are kept. According to Pavel Getmansky, acting district police chief, "there are just two people shouting into the microphone."

Radical Tartar nationalists had called as early as mid-November for boycotting the parliamentary elections "of a neighboring country," Russia. Mulyukov believes that for Tatarstan citizens to vote in them is as unnatural as voting for parliament of Ukraine, Georgia or Moldova.

By early reports, over 30 percent of the electorate have voted in Tatarstan.

Tatarstan Opposition Does Not Expect Fair Elections

MK1612160795 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Igor Kotov from Kazan: "Opposition in Tataria Anticipates Dirty Tricks by Authorities. Officials Continue Tending to Their Business Undisturbed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The electoral fever in Kazan is hardly felt. However, it would also be wrong to say that absolutely nothing is happening. Communists, holding loudspeakers, can be seen in the squares, streets, city transport terminals, and by the gates of factories. The social democrats, competing with them, have found to their vexation that their opponents are in the lead. They believe that despite massive supplies of printed materials from Moscow with texts by Mr. Zhirinovskiy, the Liberal Democratic Party is quickly losing support in Kazan.

Meanwhile, on the eve of the elections, the NDR's [Russia Is Our Home] Tataria branch set up a youth organization headed by the last leader of the Tataria Komsomol [Young Communists League] and the incumbent chairman of the State Committee for Children and Young People, Marat Bareyev. If it is to be recalled that the older comrades of the young NDR adherents in Tatarstan are led by the deputy premier of the government, the question arises as to how the provisions of Article 45 of the election law can be implemented, since it prohibits state officials from conducting electoral campaign propaganda. The aforementioned state officials are then confronted with the dilemma of either violating the law or party discipline. Judging by the fact that on 15 December all local papers were unanimous in carrying an interview with President Mintimer Shaymiyev tentatively outlining the advantages of the NDR, the first option seems more suitable to the local state officials.

The opposition, no matter what its political bias, anticipates a dirty trick from the authorities, as usual. Among democrats, as well as in the communist camp, rumors are persistent that the chairs of the local polling stations' electoral commissions are being instructed to view commission members appointed by candidates and electoral associations as ordinary observers and not to certify the protocols given out to the observers. The feeble hopes for honest elections are pinned by the opposition on the work of a small observer group from France. On election day, the French intend to meet local journalists, but it looks as if they are more willing to listen than to speak, since it is already clear that everything shown to them will be in strict conformity with the law.

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Tatarstan Election Campaign Viewed

MM1512140295 (Internet) VYBORY-95 WWW in Russian 30 Nov-6 Dec 95

[Unattributed report: "Republic of Tatarstan"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Political Publicity

Unlike the display material of March 1995 (at the time of the election campaign for the Russian Federation State Duma — elections were not held in the republic in December 1993 — editor), the present election campaigning appears extremely pallid. The leaflets of the candidates for single-seat districts — Sergey Shashurin, Aleksandr Saliy, Boris Isayev, and Fatikh Sibagatullin — seldom appear on the streets at present. There is virtually no publicity material for the electoral blocs' local candidates, and to all appearances they do not have the funds for campaigning. It is this which accounts for the absence of publicity materials in the press.

In terms of display material and publicity in the press the Agrarian Party and the KRO [Congress of Russian Communities] are presently in the lead. Leaflets and posters have appeared for the DVR-OD [Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats], "Stable Russia," the Pamfilova Bloc, the Beer Lovers' Party, and the "Bloc of Independents." They are mainly being distributed in Kazan's higher educational institutions — which is not entirely appropriate, since the majority of students will hardly participate in the elections.

A. Ishkuvatov, publisher of the newspaper KRIS, who is running on the lists of the "Forward, Russia!" movement, has started pre-election campaigning for Boris Fedorov by publishing several materials. KRIS is a partly free newspaper with a print run of 200,000 copies.

It is curious that there is practically no NDR [Russia Is Our Home] publicity, and a trailer featuring Mikhalkov bewilders a lot of people, since the majority of the population simply does not realize that it is an NDR trailer.

Visits

The leaders of two electoral associations visited Tatarstan 29 November: Nikolay Ryzhkov ("Power to the People!") and Vladimir Burenin ("Duma-96"). On 29 November Nikolay Ryzhkov visited the city of Naberezhnyye Chelny, where he met with voters, and he arrived in Kazan 30 November. During his two-day visit he met with Farid Mukhametshin (prime minister of the Republic of Tatarstan) and with workers of the KAPO [expansion unknown] Plant and gave a news conference. Another news conference was held in Kazan the same day — with Vladimir Burenin, leader of the "Duma-96" Association, and Albert Bikmullin, leader of the "Preduralye" regional list (a resident of Kazan). The leaders of this bloc are not counting on a sensational success in the elections. Advocating pragmatism in all spheres of the life of society, they have most likely prepared the ground for future elections.

Information on Candidates

1. Boris Mikhaylovich Isayev, candidate for the Privolzhskiy Electoral District. He was born 18 June 1935 in the city of Mikhaylovka, Ryazan Oblast, he is Russian, he has had higher education, and he graduated from Ryazan Agricultural Institute in 1959.

During 1959-1962 he worked in engineering posts at enterprises in Ryazan Oblast. In 1962 he moved to Kazan and worked in Tatarstan for 23 years, 12 of them as deputy and first deputy chairman of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers.

In 1985 he was appointed Russian first deputy minister of grain products. During 1988-1990 he worked in the city of Chelyabinsk as chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee and the oblast soviet. In 1990, at the First Congress of Russian Federation Deputies, he was elected deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. In 1991, after signing the political statement of disagreement with B.N. Yeltsin's policy of reforms, he resigned. Boris Isayev is now president of the Association of Deputies and the permanent representative of the Tatarstan Ministry of Agricultural Industry in Moscow. He is married with two sons and three grandchildren.

2. Aleksandr Ivanovich Saliy was born into a worker's family 9 January 1952, is Russian, and has had higher military political education. In 1976 he graduated from Kurgan Military Political Aviation School. In 1986 he graduated with distinction from the social psychology department of the Military Political Academy [adyunktura], but he was not allowed to defend his dissertation because he took part in the 3 February demonstration in Moscow.

He served in the Army for 24 years. He started as a private. In August 1994 he received an early discharge from the Armed Forces with the rank of lieutenant colonel for his leadership of the Communist Party of Tatarstan. His wife is a medical worker, his daughter a student, and his son a schoolboy. He is a committed communist, inclined toward fanaticism, and

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first participated in the elections in December 1993. He is running for the Volga [Privolzhskiy] Electoral Bloc.

Voting of Russian Citizens in Estonia Detailed

LD1812123595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TALLINN, Dec 18 (INTERFAX) — As many as 41.4 percent of Russian citizens living in Estonia voted for the Communist Party of Russia, adviser to the Russian Embassy, Vasiliy Ostapchuk, coordinator and organizer of elections in Estonia, told INTERFAX.

According to preliminary information, as many as 18.6 percent of voters supported the Congress of Russian Communities, 6.9 percent for Power to the People, 5.9 percent for the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], 5.07 percent for Communists and Working Russia for the Soviet Union, 4.6 - for Russia is Our Home.

A total of 15,549 out of 80,000 Russian citizens living in Estonia participated in the vote.

Electoral districts were opened in the building of the Russian Embassy in Tallinn and of Russia's consulate-general in Narva. The number of voters could be much greater if Estonia's authorities had satisfied numerous requests of the Russian party to open additional electoral districts in the cities densely populated with Russian citizens.

Communists Reportedly Leading in Baltic Voting

LD1812013895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0122 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (ITAR-TASS) — Russians in the three Baltic republics voted overwhelmingly for communists and nationalists, leaving only some ten percent for the reformists.

The communist party of Gennadiy Zyuganov enjoyed 36 percent of support in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania and the nationalist Liberal Democratic party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and the Congress of Russian Communities gained 34 and 21 percent respectively, according to early returns.

The reformist Yabloko bloc of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy won only 5 percent, while the Our Home is Russia failed to overcome the 5 percent hurdle so far. It enjoyed only 4 percent of votes, the NTV network reported on Monday.

Polling Stations for Elections Open in Estonia

LD1712100395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0738 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By Albert Maloveryan]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TALLINN December 17 (ITAR-TASS) — Two polling stations open in Estonia today, where Russian citizens living in Estonia will be able to vote in the elections to the State Duma. Both polling stations are attached to the Vsevoloshtsky constituency of the Leningrad Region.

Some 82,000 Russian citizens are permanently living in Estonia. According to the Russian Embassy information, it is the largest community of Russians living abroad. About 95 per cent of them have the right to vote, but not all of them will be able to make use of it, because, despite the appeals of the Russian Embassy, the local authorities permitted to open only two polling stations — in the Russian Embassy in Tallinn and in the general consulate in Narva. This almost automatically bars from the elections the Russian citizens living in other cities of Estonia.

Chernomyrdin's Party Takes Lead in Minsk

LD1812124195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, Dec 18 (INTERFAX-WEST) — The majority of Russian citizens living in Belarus voted for Our Home is Russia in the Dec. 17 elections. Russian embassy official Aleksandr Karpushin told INTERFAX in Minsk 26.6 percent of the ballots were cast for the coalition led by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

He said 8.1 percent supported the Communist Party, 7.5 percent Liberal Democrats, 5.6 percent Yabloko and 4.8 percent the Congress of Russian Communities.

Seven polling stations were opened: one at the embassy in Minsk, one at the consulate in Brest and five in Russian army units. Out of the 4,500 registered voters 3,600 cast their ballots.

The former speaker of the Belarusian parliament Stanislav Shushkevich felt the Russian Duma would be dominated by anti-Communists even though the Communist Party has collected more votes than others.

In his opinion the preliminary election returns give reason for Chernomyrdin "to think about whom to surrender his post."

Sergey Naumchik of the Belarusian Popular Front told INTERFAX the leadership of Communists and Liberal

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Democrats is an indication of the growth of dangerous imperial tendencies in Russia.

Elections Valid in Republic of Mordovia

LD1712191795 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Elections in the Republic of Mordovia are valid. According to the latest results from the republic's Central Electoral Commission, 43 percent of the citizens that had a right to vote have cast their votes. Accordingly, the general republican referendum on the extension of the powers of deputies at all levels and the deputy powers of heads of the administrations of the towns and districts of the republic is also valid. In spite of the snowstorm Saransk and the republic continue voting.

Elections in Krasnoyarsk Deemed Valid

LD1712115595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0904 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By Yuriy Khots]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KRASNOYARSK December 17 (ITAR-TASS) — According to the preliminary information that came to the electoral commission of the Krasnoyarsk Region by 1400, local time, elections in the region may be considered valid. Over 35 per cent of electors came to the polling stations. The turnout is especially high in the Achinskiy and Kanskiy constituencies, where 40 per cent of the electors have voted already.

Elections Declared Valid in Volga Regions

LD1712152795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

["Elections Declared Valid In Several Volga Regions—INTERFAX headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NIZHNY NOVGOROD, Russia, Dec 17 (INTERFAX-EURASIA) — A regional electoral commission officer said Sunday's election for the State Duma, Russia's lower house of parliament, had been valid in Nizhniy Novgorod region.

By 2:00 p.m. most of the region's constituencies produced turnouts of more than 25 percent, the officer told INTERFAX-EURASIA. Nizhniy Novgorod city's Avtozavodskiy District had a somewhat lower turnout, however, since Sunday is a working day at the district's biggest enterprise, the GAZ motor factory.

Tyumen and Samara regions and the republics of Udmurtia, Tatarstan and Mariy-El by 2:00 p.m. showed turnouts of 33.45, 36.7, 29.4 and 44.3 percent respectively.

In Orenburg Region, both the Duma election and an election for regional governor have been valid, 33 percent of the electorate having voted by 2:00 p.m., regional electoral commission chairman Yuriy Andreyev told INTERFAX-EURASIA.

'Double Victory' for Communists in Jewish Region

LD1812122695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BIROBIJAN, Dec 18 (INTERFAX-Eurasia) — The Duma elections in the Jewish Autonomous Region were marked by a double victory of Communists.

The local electoral commission told INTERFAX-Eurasia the former secretary of the city Communist Party committee Sergey Shtogrin collected a majority vote in the single-mandate district — 22.6%. The deputy head of the regional administration Maria Zhirdetskaya, independent, was only 2.5% behind him. Alla Gerber, a Moscow writer, had the support of 13.2%.

Among the parties Communists collected 23.4%, Liberal Democrats 11.6%, Communists for the USSR 8.5%, Women of Russia 7%, Russia Is Our Home 5.1%, Yabloko 4.6%.

According to the head of the local electoral commission Alexey Bublik, on the whole the elections were well organized. By 11 a.m. Monday only one complaint was registered by the supporter group of Alla Gerber who said the candidate's biography was unavailable at some polling stations.

Elections in Mari Republic Valid

LD1712185495 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Dec 95

[Dispatch by correspondent Sergey Yashin from Yoshkar-Ola]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The activity of voters in the Mari Republic at the elections today has disproved all the forecasts that predicted that a small percentage of voters will vote. [passage omitted]

The constituency Electoral Commission, which receives all the results of the voting, reported that the elections in the Mari Republic were valid. Already by 1400, over 44 percent of the electorate had cast their vote. [passage omitted]

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60 Percent Turnout Reported in Kamchatka

LD1712141195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1200 GMT on 17 December reports that polling stations closed in Kamchatka at 1000 GMT and votes are now being counted. The announcer reports that over 60 percent of the 264,000 registered voters have taken part in the elections. No incidents or irregularities were reported at any of the 300 polling stations.

Prepoll Political Machinations in Bryansk Region Eyed

MM1512144695 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI ("Political Milieu" Special Edition) in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 4

[Report by Vasiliy Shpachkov: "Bryansk: A Glass of Vodka to the Victims of Chernobyl"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] One year ago ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI recounted the story of the disappearance of the Chernobyl billion [rubles]. An audit of the financial and economic activity of the Main Administration for Chernobyl Questions established that construction materials and equipment worth more than 1 billion rubles (in 1991-1994 prices) had been squandered. The inquiry established that the amount of work performed had been exaggerated, and that inordinate sums of money had been spent on maintaining the functionary apparatus, acquiring equipment and furniture for the main administration, and so forth. Who is to blame for this? Who dared to profit from the grief of unfortunate people?

Alas, after many months of inquiries and audits it turns out that the mountain of threatening documents and directives has once again brought forth a mouse. The oblast public prosecutor's office commissioned an audit from the Audit Office, which sent the results of its inquiries to the internal affairs administration; the oblast internal affairs administration sent them all back to the Audit Office. [passage omitted]

In the race for votes supporters of the Bryansk entrepreneur Oleg Kibalchich, notorious from many articles in ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, organized the sale of cut-price sugar. All that was demanded of the customer was that he give his consent for his vote to be recorded on the list of citizens nominating Kibalchich as a State Duma candidate deputy. And although Kibalchich was eventually refused registration and "burned up" in the dense strata of the election atmosphere, the fact remains that this method was used.

Just as real is the report recently published in the oblast newspaper, BRYANSK RABOCHIY. It turns out that in Klintsy supporters of Zhirinovskiy organized free drinks, inviting people just to vote for the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] candidate at the elections.

Well, a battle has always been a battle. And, as the saying goes, the ends justify the means. Politicians of all persuasions want power. However, it would be naive to suppose that the Communists, having triumphed at the elections, would immediately start to look for those guilty of squandering the Chernobyl money. Just like Zhirinovskiy's supporters, they continue to offer free refreshments to the inhabitants of Bryansk Oblast. The usual election race for the "controlling block" of political shares is under way.

Results of Preelection Polls in 20 Cities, 2 Oblasts

MK1612084895 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 15 Dec 95 p 3

[Unattributed boxed passage under the heading "Results of Regional Sociological Service Polls (data as of 12 December)"; excerpted from article by Natalya Arkhangelskaya, Georgiy Bovt, and others entitled "The Battle for Power Against the Party of Power"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt]

Moscow: NDR ['Russia Is Our Home'], 16.1 percent; "Yabloko," 9.7 percent; CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation], "Women of Russia," and DVR ['Russia's Democratic Choice' (Yegor Gaydar)], 6.5 percent each; "Forward, Russia!," 5.4 percent.

Moscow Oblast: CPRF, 15 percent; "Yabloko," 12 percent; NDR, 7 percent.

St. Petersburg: "Yabloko," 9 percent; CPRF, 8 percent; NDR 5 percent.

Leningrad Oblast: CPRF, 16 percent; "Yabloko," 7 percent; NDR, 3 percent.

Pskov: LDPR, 8.5 percent; "Yabloko," 8.4 percent; "Women of Russia," 5.9 percent; NDR, 5.8 percent.

Kaliningrad: CPRF, 12 percent; "Yabloko," 7 percent; Party of Workers' Self-Government, 6 percent; "Women of Russia" and APR [Agrarian Party of Russia], 5 percent each.

Petrozavodsk: "Yabloko," 13 percent; CPRF, 11 percent; "Women of Russia," 10 percent; NDR, DVR, and Party of Workers' Self-Government, 5 percent each.

Syktyvkar: "Women of Russia," 12.2 percent; CPRF, 8.5 percent; "Yabloko," 8.3 percent; NDR, 6.6 percent; LDPR, 5 percent.

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Murmansk: "Yabloko," 20 percent; KRO [Congress of Russian Communities], 15-18 percent; CPRF and NDR, 10 percent each; DVR, 9 percent.

Yaroslavl: CPRF, 15 percent; "Yabloko," 12 percent; KRO, 10 percent; DVR, 9 percent; "Women of Russia," 7 percent.

Voronezh: CPRF, 9 percent; "Yabloko," 7.8 percent; LDPR, 5.8 percent.

Nizhniy Novgorod: CPRF, 15 percent; "Yabloko" and NDR, 11-12 percent each; KRO, about 5 percent.

Saratov: CPRF, 17.5 percent; "My Fatherland," 10 percent; NDR, 8.5 percent; "Yabloko," 7.7 percent.

Kazan: CPRF, 11.7 percent; "Yabloko," 10.4 percent; "Women of Russia," 7.3 percent; Social Democrats, 5.1 percent.

Saransk: CPRF, 13-16 percent; NDR, 6 percent; "Yabloko," "Women of Russia," LDPR, and KRO, more than 5 percent.

Krasnodar: CPRF, more than 17 percent; "Yabloko," 11.4 percent; NDR, 8.9 percent; KRO, 7.9 percent; APR, 7.6 percent; "Women of Russia," slightly over 5 percent.

Stavropol: CPRF, 14 percent; "Yabloko," 12 percent; DVR, 10 percent; NDR, 9 percent; "Women of Russia," 6.5 percent; KRO, 6 percent; LDPR, 5.5 percent.

Vladikavkaz: CPRF, 33 percent; LDPR, 13.3 percent; "Derzhava," 8.4 percent; NDR, 7.5 percent.

Perm: NDR, 24 percent; CPRF, 18 percent; "Yabloko," 11 percent; "Women of Russia," 8.8 percent; DVR, 7.2 percent; APR, 5 percent.

Yekaterinburg: "Yabloko," 12.4 percent; NDR, 10.3 percent; DVR, 8.5 percent; CPRF, 7.8 percent; "Transformation of the Fatherland," 6.7 percent.

Chelyabinsk: CPRF, 10.2 percent; "Yabloko," 7.6 percent; NDR, 8.1 percent.

Krasnoyarsk: "Yabloko," 26 percent; NDR, 20 percent; CPRF, 17 percent; DVR, 11 percent.

Election Guidelines

Ryabov Issues Message on Eve of Elections

LD1612174195 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1550 GMT 16 Dec 95

[Eve of election message by Nikolay Ryabov, head of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission; date and place not given — live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Esteemed fellow countrymen. The election campaign is nearing completion. On 17 December 1995, on the day of the elections of the deputies to the State Duma, over 96,000 electoral commissions at every level are ready to ensure your constitutional right to power. Approximately 10,000 agents of candidates, election associations and election blocs, tens of thousands of observers, including around 1,000 from abroad, and many thousands of representatives of the mass media, are preparing for public supervision during the elections.

The measures stipulated by the electoral law have have been adopted within the timescale prescribed. The necessary funds, equipment, and documentation have been delivered to the polling stations where final arrangements are being made. Communications have been set up and the telecommunications network has been connected. The polling stations and ballot centers are being guarded.

Thus, every possible condition has been created for the free expression of will by the Russian citizens in the elections of deputies to the State Duma and provision made for a public and open determination of the outcome of the elections. It is now very much up to every participant in the election campaign to make the 17 December election day its worthy culmination.

The Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation addresses the constituency electoral commissions as the most numerous group of election organizers. In exercising the powers granted to you in direct contact with the 105 million electors, remember that we, your colleagues, are beside you in all our thoughts and hearts and are ready to help you and render the necessary assistance. We realize how complex your task is, creating the proper conditions for the citizens to vote, interacting with observers and agents, and counting the votes after a long period of intensive work for 24 hours or maybe even longer in connection with holding the ballot. Although we understand this, we call on you to assess thoroughly and comprehensively every ballot paper: any of them can prove to be decisive. We rely on your competence and impartiality. We are confident that, in the course of the ballot and in counting the votes, you will be able to achieve perfect legal purity and to do everything without any mistakes, publicly and openly. Do muster your strength for this work to be completed worthily. We have trust in you.

We urge the electoral commissions in constituent parts of the Russian Federation, constituency and territorial electoral commissions to ensure on the day of the elections the due order of the ballot and to take exhaustive steps in order to secure the electoral rights of citizens, to adhere unconditionally to the principle of independence of the electoral commissions, and to

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create conditions for the work of observers, agents, and representatives of the mass media. [passage omitted]

We ask the television companies and journalists to provide an objective and balanced coverage of the work of the electoral commissions, the course of the ballot, counting the votes and establishing the results of the elections.

Esteemed electors and citizens of the Russian Federation. For the first time in many centuries of Russian history, our people have an opportunity to elect those in power, to elect deputies of the country's State Duma within the constitutional timescale, freely and democratically. This is not simply a ballot and not simply another election. On 17 December 1995 the Russian people lay the foundation of their society and state in the form of the most important democratic tradition which removes from all of us the threat of social conflict and coup d'etat and the danger of civil war. We call on you to take an active part in the elections of the deputies to the State Duma on 17th December. This is our day. This is the day when every Russian freely determines by their will who will be in power. We rely on the political wisdom of the Russians.

On behalf of all of the country's electoral commissions, the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation assures you that the final outcome of the elections will be fully in accordance with the express wishes of the electors and that it will be summed up and made public in a timely fashion. We believe that every participant in the election campaign, in whatever capacity they act, realizes the responsibility of the moment that has come. We wish all our compatriots peace, happiness, accord in their families and society, and personal well-being. Thank you for your attention.

Media To Carry Live Election Reports 'Round The Clock'

LD1612172895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1711 GMT 16 Dec 95

[By Natalya Panshina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 16 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia's Central Electoral Commission has opened an information centre in downtown Moscow on Saturday to help journalists keep track of voting in the legislative elections scheduled for Sunday.

Commission chairman Nikolay Ryabov said the need for such a centre became obvious back in 1993 when a whole army of counters failed to promptly process information which amounted to about 100,000 pages.

Over 2,700 system administrators and about 1,000 specialists will ensure multi-tier communications in Russian regions. Computer centres hooked up to the central terminal in Moscow have been opened in 87 Russian regions, except Chechnya and Kalmykia.

Ryabov stressed that because such a system will be used in Russia for the first time, the traditional methods of vote counting will also be employed to avoid errors.

The commission has already granted permission to use the system to 1,132 Russian and foreign mass media, including 450 Russian and 682 foreign journalists.

The elections will be covered by 17 news agencies, including the ORT, RTV and NTV television broadcasting companies which will carry live reports from the centre round the clock.

The first information from Russia's Far East will become available by noon Sunday. Preliminary results from other regions will become known by 16:00, while the first election summaries will start arriving after polling stations in the Kaliningrad region, Russia's westernmost enclave, will close at 23:00.

According to Ryabov, Russia's electorate is 105 million. He said 89 local electoral commissions, 187 regional electoral commissions, 2,719 territorial electoral commissions and 93,122 polling stations have been set up across Russia.

The commissions involve over 800,000 people who represent various public associations and working collectives. Tens of thousands of observers, including about 1,000 from foreign countries, will monitor the elections.

Filatov on Campaign; Media Leaders on Advertising Profits

LD1612151795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0839 GMT 16 Dec 95

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Moscow, 15 December [date as received] —According to Sergey Filatov, head of the administration of the Russian Federation president, the election campaign this year was calmer than in 1993. He adds that the absence of debate turned the one-month campaigning into selective advertising. [Passage omitted]

The television and radio industry leadership has unanimously agreed that no considerable profit has been generated by political advertisements, with ORT earning a total of 500,000 dollars. This is quite insubstantial in terms of the company's budget with RTV's revenue below 2bn rubles which also is irrelevant in the context of its economic situation. Mayak radio proceeds, in the

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words of its chief editor, Vladimir Povalyayev, are simply "laughable" as the law-abiding station allocated its airtime at its prime cost of no more than 500 dollars per minute, rather than at advertisement rates.

Parliamentary Official Opposes Foreign Observers

LD1612205295 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Foreign observers are due to make individual reports at the end of the elections. Anatoliy Dolgolaptev, deputy speaker of the Federation Council met with observers today. Our correspondent Viktoriya Ivanova was also at the meeting.

[Ivanova] Disputes over the vote result are a cause of concern to not only candidates but also the foreign diplomatic corps which is expecting dirty tricks from the authorities - especially as this year's automated voting system is not ready. So don't be surprised if, on arriving at the polling station tomorrow, you hear English or German. Anatoliy Dolgolaptev takes quite a negative view of attempts such as these at outside control.

[Dolgolaptev] If we don't solve our problems by ourselves ... [pauses] this participating and observing are totally excessive measures. I find this deeply unpleasant. They take us for a nation that counts for little in the world. You can send observers to Burkina Faso or Moldova if you like - I don't object if the Moldovans themselves have no objections. You can respect any guests and have normal relations with them, but it is completely unnecessary to allow them to regulate, to watch over our processes. In my opinion, this is unacceptable to Russia. [passage omitted]

Commission: Zhirinovskiy Inciting 'Ethnic Hatred'

MM1512130895 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 95 Weekend Edition p 2

[Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decree No. 56/506 P "on the appeal from the Russian Federation President's Court of Appeal for Information Disputes in Connection with the Speech by V.V. Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission has received an appeal from the Russian Federation president's Court of Appeal for Information Disputes on a speech by V.V. Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] within the framework of the election campaign 6 December 1995 in a morning broadcast on the Russian Public Television channel.

The Court of Appeal believes that some statements in this speech by the LDPR chairman could be assessed as a violation of the Russian Federation Constitution and criminal legislation and has an abuse of the right to conduct election campaigning within the meaning of article 25 of the federal law "on basic guarantees of Russian Federation citizens' electoral rights."

The Russian Federation president's Court of Appeal for Information Disputes asks the Russian Federation Central Electoral System to assess this speech by V.V. Zhirinovskiy from the viewpoint of the requirements of article 25 of the above-mentioned federal law and to examine the question of the possibility and expediency of applying the sanctions envisaged by part three of article 46 of the federal law "on the election of Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma deputies."

The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission has familiarized itself at its 9 December 1995 session with the video tape of the speech by LDPR Chairman V.V. Zhirinovskiy broadcast 6 December 1995 on Russian Public Television channel within the framework of election campaigning and believes that V.V. Zhirinovskiy allowed expressions containing calls for violence inciting ethnic hostility, thus violating the relevant clauses of federal legislation on the elections.

On the basis of the above and guided by the requirements of part three of article 46 of the federal law "on the election of Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma deputies," the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees:

1. That LDPR Chairman V.V. Zhirinovskiy be warned that if the LDPR continues illegal election campaigning the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission in accordance with part three of article 46 of the federal law "on the election of Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma deputies" will appeal to the Russian Federation Supreme Court to repeal the decision to register the federal list of candidates put forward by the "Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR)" electoral association.

2. That a representation be submitted to the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office on the examination of the question of signs of violation of the law in the above-mentioned actions by V.V. Zhirinovskiy.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, A.A. Beshnyakov, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, Moscow, 9 December 1995.

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Election Monitoring Group Learns of Irregularities

LD1712091995 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 0720 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Viktor Luchin, acting chairman of the Russian public organization For Honest Elections, told Ekho Moskvy radio station that his organization is getting dozens of reports of infringements of the electoral law at polling stations in Russia.

One of the commonest types of infringement is the presence at polling stations of campaign material in favor of various individual candidates. Further, Luchin said, at a number of polling stations the situation regarding envelopes containing the ballot papers of those entitled to vote early is giving rise to dispute.

The Central Electoral Commission gave instructions to electoral commissions at all levels to declare invalid any ballot papers on which the surnames of candidates in single-seat constituencies who decided not to run no less than three days before the elections are not crossed out. So when the envelopes containing the ballot papers of people who voted before these candidates decided not to run are opened, these ballot papers will be invalid. In law, the envelopes must be opened as soon as the voting starts, but since the Central Electoral Commission has not issued any instructions on this point, they have been put aside for the moment, Luchin said.

Commission Head Rules Out 'Massive' Vote Rigging

LD1712132395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — Head of the Central Electoral Commission Nikolay Ryabov speaking at a polling station in Moscow has ruled out any chance of massive rigging of votes from Russia's general election getting under way on Sunday [17 December].

However, he admitted to the likelihood of some technical mistakes.

On chances of massive electoral fraud, Ryabov said this was "just impossible" because of the heavy presence of observers and mass media representatives at polling stations. The electorate's main problem, he said, is how to make the "right choice." He said this was all the more important given that the Russians would this time elect a full-blown parliament for a full term of office and they must do their best not to regret about their choice in a year or two.

LDPR, NDR Leaders Named as Key Violators of Campaign Rules

MK1612135895 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Konstantin Katanyan under the general heading: "Yet Another Election — And Once Again a Momentous One. But In Fact This Is an Absolutely Ordinary Matter: The Russian People Are Electing Their Parliament"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] and the "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] association have more often than others breached campaigning rules during the election campaign. This conclusion was drawn by Igor Yeremin, deputy chairman of the Judicial Chamber on Information Disputes under the Russian Federation president, at a briefing for Russian journalists and foreign observers.

It is well known that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy offered "a simple recipe for bringing order to Chechnya" on 6 December. In the LDPR leader's words, "five or six mountain villages should be burnt down by napalm" for every Russian soldier killed. The Judicial Chamber thinks that such an extremist method of resolving political problems "leads to the stirring up of ethnic strife," and, therefore, these calls should be dealt with by courts of general jurisdiction. The chamber turned to members of the Central Electoral Commission, who passed this matter to the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office for consideration.

It is more difficult to pinpoint violations of the principle of equal rights for all candidates running for the State Duma that have been committed by the NDR. Yeremin emphasized that "the frequency of Viktor Chernomyrdin's appearances on state television on all conceivable occasions has transcended all borders of the permissible." The NDR leader started appearing in news programs particularly often in connection with the Russian president's illness because the premier has essentially become the key person exercising executive authority in our state.

However, as Igor Yeremin thinks, today "there are no legal sanctions for such violations."

So, with regard to the NDR, the Judicial Chamber contented itself with an appeal to all television companies urging them to minimize the air time allocated to the candidates running for the State Duma who hold high state posts.

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Vladivostok Observers To Be Refused Early Results

LD1612212195 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 2040 GMT 16 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A total of 10,000 proxy agents and 50,000 observers, including 900 international observers, will monitor the State Duma elections. First critical remarks have come from the observers. The Russian public movement For Honest Elections draws one's attention to the fact that the local electoral commission in Vladivostok has received instructions from the Central Electoral Commission not to allow observers to obtain preliminary results of the voting at polling stations until 2300 [2000 GMT] on 17 December. Moscow explains this by the fact that citizens should be given the right to exercise their free will. However, activists of the For Honest Elections movement quote the election law, in accordance with which observers are to receive information during the course of the vote counting.

Automated Vote Counter To Be Used Experimentally

LD1612172295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1413 GMT 16 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 16 (INTERFAX) — The automated vote counting system will be used in Sunday's elections to the State Duma experimentally, said Yuriy Baltrushevich, Central Electoral Commission official in charge of introducing the system.

As he said, the system is to be put into operation in the first quarter of 1996. At Sunday's elections it will only be tested. Preliminary testing has already been carried out. The Central Electoral Commission will not take the results of its use into account — the ballots will be counted traditionally (INTERFAX's note: by hand).

According to Baltrushevich, the system speads to Russia as a whole, with the exception of Chechnya and Kalmykia, where its fitting has not been concluded yet, and Ingushetia, whose leaders failed to grant premises for accomodating the system in time.

The automated vote counting system is being introduced in accordance with the president's decree signed on August 23, 1994. It includes electoral commissions beginning from the second level (territorial commissions and higher), and involves a total of 5,000 personal computers. When it is put into operation in 1996, the system will be used to collect information and count votes automatically at the future elections.

Moscow Electoral Commission Notes Problems With Computer

LD1812043895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0406 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By Igor Belskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (ITAR-TASS) — The Moscow election commission said on Monday it faced problems with the computer vote-counting system which initially reported that the Our Home is Russia bloc of premier Viktor Chernomyrdin was in the lead.

Olga Volkova, a spokeswoman of the commission, told Tass on Monday that "some faults in the electronic control system of election results were reported in Moscow" triggering delays in the publication of early returns. "The information is being verified", she told Tass adding that the specified results are to be announced by 08:00 Moscow time (05:00 GMT).

In St. Petersburg the results in only one constituency became known so far. According to the urban election commission, the Yabloko bloc got 16.5 percent of votes. The Communists of Gennadiy Zyuganov were the second with 13.4 percent, the Our Home is Russia of premier Viktor Chernomyrdin was the third with 12.9 percent, the Democratic Russia's Choice of Yegor Gaydar won 11.9 percent of votes.

Commentary

Zyuganov Votes, Comments on Presidential Powers

LD1712123595 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 17 Dec 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The leaders of election blocs were some of the first to have come to the polling stations today. Our correspondents have now made ready reports on the vote by some of them. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent T. Apdoshina] Excitement here today began at 0800 a.m. [0500 GMT], with the leader of the Communists, Gennadiy Zyuganov, expected to cast his vote.

[Unidentified voice] This has not happened even with the president.

[Apdoshina] Gennadiy Zuganov came in front of the cameras looking somewhat at a loss. It seemed that he was not ready for such a reception.

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The short-term plans of the Communists are to convene a congress immediately after the elections to discuss party politics. As regards the future State Duma, Gennadiy Zyuganov intends to form a large coalition. Zyuganov will not say whether any parliamentary union is possible with the movement Russia is Our Home until after the election result is known.

[Begin Zyuganov recording] We will see how much confidence there will be in Russia is Our Home. On the other hand, we have made a lot of other proposals. [end recording]

[Apdoshina] Gennadiy Zyuganov told journalists today that he was very displeased with the president's preelection speech. The leader of the Communists proved his opposition to the chapter of the Constitution in force that defines the authority of the Russian president.

[Begin Zyuganov recording] Do you know what powers our president has? Four times the combination of those of the Russian tsar, Soviet secretary general, and Egyptian Pharaoh. Yet he is responsible for nothing. [end recording]

Communist Leader Attributes Success to Opponents' Mistakes

LD1812102895 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 0900 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] If the success of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], was unexpected to experts, suffice it to say, the success of the Communist Party was forecast by many. In the opinion of Viktor Ilyukhin, one of the leaders of the Communist Party, this situation arose not only because of the party's well structured election campaign but also as a result of obvious mistakes by their competitors. Ilyukhin has in mind the democratic movement and all those who support the present government.

[Begin Ilyukhin recording] I would say that the main conclusion reached is that Russians are tired of promises, totally not acknowledged both by the president, who said that he would not tolerate or allow reforms to be carried out at the expense of the people, and today by the prime minister, who is going along the same path promising the same thing — that all reforms, as they say, will be in the interest of the fatherland and that everything is in the past. Russians have rejected his version. [end recording]

CPRF: Yeltsin Statement in Breach of Election Law

LD1612180195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1736 GMT 16 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 16 (Interfax) - The Communist Party of Russia today circulated a statement saying that in defiance of the election law the media continued reporting statements "openly or implicitly assessing parties and independent candidates" running for parliament on the last day before the elections.

The Communist Party named among such media reports the statement made by Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Friday evening, December 15, 1995. By making this statement, the president "actually interfered in the election campaign giving extremely biased evaluations of the situation in the country," the Communist Party said. The president "once again frightened voters by saying that undesirable for him election results may lead to bloody redistribution of property," the Communist Party's statement reads.

By urging voters to "make a reasonable choice" in favor of the Our Home is Russia electoral bloc, the president "directly violated article 45 of the election law barring the federal authorities and officials from election campaign or siding with a party to the election struggle," the Communist Party said.

Reports from the regions show that such "instructions" from the president are considered by local administrations as an order, the Communist Party said.

"The Communist Party of Russia and its electoral organization's headquarters express their decisive protest over such violations of the law," the party said. The Communist Party said it would follow all such incidents to determine "how the present Russian authorities observe the law or regard free display of popular will."

Communist Party Refutes Reports on Chernomyrdin Meeting

LD1512143395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1425 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 15 (Interfax) — In the past few months there was no discussion of future cooperation and distribution of government portfolios between the leaders of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and the Chernomyrdin Cabinet or Our Home Is Russia bloc, the first deputy chairman of the Party's Central Committee Valentin Kuptsov told Interfax Friday [15 December]. A number of media editions alleged that the Chernomyrdin government had held consultations with the Communist leaders.

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They are playing up this innuendo in a bid to discredit the party in the voters' eyes on the eve of the elections and drive a wedge between the party leaders and rank-and-file members, Kuptsov stressed.

A party conference to be held in mid-January will define the Communists' view of the Chernomyrdin government, name the party's allies and plan action in the State Duma.

In response to Interfax's question on whether the Communist Party of the Russian Federation would call for a vote of no confidence in the Chernomyrdin Cabinet, party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov said Friday "the Cabinet had put the issue to vote in the elections." The elections will show how much confidence the districts and villages of Russia place in the federal government, Zyuganov said.

Zhirinovskiy: Vote Result Will Be Falsified by 20 Percent

LD1712154095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (Interfax) — Leader of the Russian Liberal-Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy told correspondents at a Sokolniki polling station in Moscow today that his party will be supported by 40 percent of electors on December 17, but the results will be falsified by 20 percent.

Zhirinovskiy voted in the presence of international observers and several dozens of correspondents. He accused the authorities of tearing down opposition election posters from walls two days before the elections, while pro-government posters remained where they were.

In response to an Interfax question, the Liberal-Democratic leader said he cares both for the parliament elections and the presidential elections of 1996, but the latter is more important.

In his opinion, the major presidential candidates on June 16 will be the current president and Zhirinovskiy. They may be joined by Gennadiy Zyuganov, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and Aleksandr Lebed, but "they are not worthy rivals."

According to the report of an Interfax correspondent, several residents of a house on the Sokolnichesky Val Street, where Zhirinovskiy lives, expressed their indignation to correspondents and to Zhirinovskiy's wife over numerous posters and writings on the house's walls and inside elevators.

Zhirinovskiy: End Chechnya War By Napalming Villages

LD1512184095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow TV-6 in Russian at 0540 GMT on 15 December broadcasts a 30-minute recorded interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), in the "Elect Me!" program.

Zhirinovskiy states: "If we get a majority in the State Duma, say 200-250 deputies, we will immediately end the war in Chechnya. How? I will go to the president in person — because I'll have the right, I could most probably become the speaker of the chamber, so I'll have the right to go to him just like Rybkin does now, except that he fawns on Yeltsin." The LDPR leader continues: "I'll tell him: Boris Nikolayevich, give the order immediately to the commander of the troops in Chechnya, that if tonight even a single shot is heard, if even one single Russian soldier is wounded or killed, everything is to be burned to the ground. Another shot — burn another village. If we burn three or four villages to the ground, napalm them, so that there is nothing left, the war will end."

The LDPR's second move, Zhirinovskiy tells studio presenter Matvey Ganapolskiy, would be to raise the call-up age to 25-30 and focus on propaganda — "not pornography, chewing gum, and contraceptives" but propaganda to make young men proud to go into the army to defend the fatherland.

Zhirinovskiy proposes five measures to solve the crime problem: bring back the old cadres in the Interior Ministry, the experienced investigators; set bandit gangs against one another by playing the ethnic card and using one gang to finish off another; get rid of criminal groups abroad (he notes here that: "rotten, bourgeois democracy won't accept me, the party leader, they close their air space to Germany for me, but they take gangsters, prostitutes, drug addicts from all over the world"); liberalize business to stop evasion of the law; and permit the militia and all in state service to use arms more widely.

Zhirinovskiy calls for a cut in taxation to 40 percent, and for a halt to imports of staple foods, to help Russian agriculture.

Answering questions from Ekho Moskvy journalists Aleksey Venediktov and Dmitriy Solopov, Zhirinovskiy says the LDPR's closest ally is the Agrarian party. He would make up for the shortcomings in the constitution which are in the president's favor by forcing Yeltsin to heed the 40 million people who Zhirinovskiy hopes will vote for him. Asked if he was not afraid of alienating the

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electorate by his call last week for an army of 3 million and a three-year term of compulsory military service, Zhirinovskiy says he was not: he had called for a term of 18 months or two years, not three; and he would call up volunteers. There must be obligatory military service, but only people who want to serve would be called up, he says, without explaining how this would work.

All parts of a unified Russian state — whether the parts of it be called guberniyas, oblasts, or republics or whatever — must have equal powers and equal relations with the center, and pay taxes on an equal basis, Zhirinovskiy says. It is impermissible for Moscow Region or Ryazan Region to work away and pay taxes while Tatarstan and Bashkiria pay none.

Asked what he thinks of the party initials LDPR appearing as graffiti on walls, Zhirinovskiy applauds it: Rather that than some other four-letter words, he indicates.

Polls put the communists in the lead, Ganapolskiy points out, while the communist press describes Zhirinovskiy as Yeltsin's first ally: He asks: "Zhirinovskiy voted for the budget, Zhirinovskiy did not allow the Chernomyrdin government to be overturned, and so on. True or false?"

Zhirinovskiy, settling back expansively in his chair, tie askew, says this is all lies and deception. "I've been round the whole country, and according to my information, the communists will get 20 percent at the most. The LDPR has never supported either Yeltsin or Chernomyrdin on anything — it's their position that coincides with ours! Their position, Yeltsin's and Chernomyrdin's — even Kozyrev — was said to be talking like Zhirinovskiy once, not like Kozyrev at all" when talking about Serbia and Iraq.

Disputing that his popularity rating has declined, Zhirinovskiy declares all such reports to be a plot between the Federal Security Service and Yeltsin's aides, who are all CIA agents.

The LDPR opposes the return of all former territories of the USSR: Belarus and eastern and southern Ukraine certainly, but not western Ukraine, and parts of Lithuania, all of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan should be returned. "As for Uzbekistan and the Caucasus — they can get down on their knees before the new president in the Kremlin, and if I'm the president, neither Uzbekistan, nor Azerbaijan, nor Armenia nor Georgia will ever again be parts of the Russian state. And five years hence, they'll perish, swallowed up by their neighbors, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan. I'll show the whole world that Russia is not the colonizer, it's others who are!" Relations should be on an equal basis, he says. If they owe Russia money for oil, pay up or hand over territory.

Having asserted that he wishes he had been able to spend more time with his wife and family, Zhirinovskiy said the two politicians he admires most are Stolypin and Bismarck.

Addressing viewers directly at the end of the interview, Zhirinovskiy calls upon voters to vote for the LDPR, number 33 on the list, and urges young people to prevail upon their parents to vote for "the only opposition party," the LDPR, "so that you will not have to live in a country where there is debauchery and filth, where the economy is rotten, where Russia is like a cesspit or a stokehole; so that Russian Federation citizens can be proud."

Zhirinovskiy Election Address

LD1512230395 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 15 Dec 95

[Election address by Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, LDPR, on 15 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Good evening, esteemed citizens of Russia. In two days you will have to go to the polling stations. We would all like to live in Russia where each person could earn his living in accordance with his work and abilities rather than in accordance with his smart shift to the Bolsheviks in 1917, then to Mensheviks in 1991, only to be followed by his move to the arch-patriots. We are a little bit tired of those turncoats. So we are offering you a realistic solution. Generally speaking, we don't want to break up anything and build anything from scratch. For instance, let's take security issues: it will not cost much to reintegrate the KGB [Committee for State Security]. Today it is divided into four parts: the Foreign Intelligence Service, the government communications [FAPSI] and others. If it is brought under single command again it will be only cheaper. Consequently our programs for improving the economy and the state and solving the ethnic issue and social problems don't require additional expenses. On the contrary, we indicate where money can be found to improve living standards while all other parties envisage new break-ups and revolutions again. It is Russia's misfortune that over 90 years it has experienced five revolutions, wars, periods of reforms and so on. But why are we so insistently urged toward the market today? Did we not have a market before, did we not buy and sell before? It's a question of ideological fraud. The market is needed today in order to weaken Russia. The version of democracy that is being imposed is, too, needed to weaken Russia. Nationalism, which is being hailed in

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order to split up Russia once again, after the USSR was split up, is aimed at weakening the state. So Russians, be vigilant! And the smaller peoples should not think that they will be spared by this storm. If the West succeeds in smothering our state eventually, reducing Russia to a Muscovite principality and the Russians to a 20-30 million people, there will be no place on earth either for the Yakuts, Chuvashes, Mordvins, Tatars, Karels, or North Caucasian peoples. For they have already divided up our huge territory between 31 European states and each has been allocated a part of territory to develop. [passage omitted in which Zhirinovskiy gives his view of Russian history, saying it was not that bad, after all]

For as long as foreign states continue to interfere with Russian affairs we will have a crisis and people will go on dying. Over the 20th century about 1 million people have been dying annually for their political beliefs, and at least 100 million have died altogether. [passage omitted]

I've never been a CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] member and our party has never supported the democrats. We have been in existence for six years already. We were the first on the arena. Why were they afraid to do the same? We took part in the presidential elections. Why were they afraid to do the same? [passage omitted]

And finally the putsch, or the SCSE [State Committee for State of Emergency], August 1991. The same Lebed received orders to suppress the extremists in Moscow. Prostitutes and drug addicts gathered near the White House and provoked that Bacchanalia. They were allegedly defending democracy. Against whom?

And the communists? Who prevented them from nominating a single candidate for Russian president? Who prevented them from coming out onto the streets on 19 August 1991 to support their own committee for the state of emergency?

The LDPR was the only party that came out and supported the SCSE program. This program is still topical today: to stop the disintegration of the country and the economy, to stop the wild outburst of crime. Then the events of October 1993. [passage omitted]

And you, esteemed Aleksandr Vladimirovich [Rutskoy], what have you done? You were vice president of Russia. You were even self-proclaimed president of Russia. You were General Rutskoy. You had everything, you had power. Why didn't you do anything? Let them show a film in which you were interrogated by a foreign counterintelligence service in Karachi. General, how did you manage to be captured twice in Pakistan? You, who were flying the best MiG, the best Russian fighter in the world, were shot down by a 19-year-old Pakistani boy. You, Colonel Rutskoy, were twice captured in Afghanistan which did not have an air-defense system. How did you manage to fall, both your aircraft and yourself, on the enemy's territory? All those who are dying to be in power are former ministers, generals, deputies. All of them were members of the former CPSU. [passage omitted]

This is a world conspiracy by the West against Russia. Throughout the 20th century they have been strangling us, suppressing us, organizing wars and revolutions; they have been pursuing one aim: to seize territories and slowly eliminate the Russian people. And everything is going according to plan. At first they took away Finland, Poland, Alaska, California, Sakhalin, part of the Kuril Islands. Then they took away Eastern Europe from our influence. In 1990 they took away the whole of the Baltics, Ukraine, Belarus, the Transcaucasus, Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Now they have begun a war in Chechnya to seize the Caucasus, the southern Russian regions, Yakutia and proclaim an independent state in the Volga region so that at the end there will be only bits and pieces left of Russia. [passage omitted]

The West has been waging three world wars against us. And it has been winning all of them. [passage omitted]

Why are 20,000 American advisers operating here in Russia? Don't we know ourselves how to turn our people's property into private? [passage omitted]

Some people say: Vladimir Volfovich [words indistinct], you say everything is bad and all your rivals are bad. But what's so good about you? I reply: we are clean, we tell the truth. Let's expose them.

The State Duma has been in existence for two years. Some accuse us of hypocrisy. The LDPR has not kept its promises. But they don't mention the fact that the LDPR had only 60 seats, 60 buttons; 390 deputies belonged to other parties. How can I force them to implement decisions of the State Duma when proposals which could strengthen our state and economy don't even get included on the agenda?

Therefore, don't believe either the Communists, or the KRO [Congress of Russian Communities] of Lebed, Skokov, and Glazyev. Skokov, after all, is a former secretary of the National Security Council. As secretary of the National Security Council, why did he keep quiet when our country was being plundered?

I appeal today to all those who head powerful ministries — to Mikhail Ivanovich Barsukov, Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev, to [Colonel-General Mikhail] Kolesnikov, chief of the General Staff, to [Colonel-General] Andrey Ivanovich Nikolayev, head of the border guards, to

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Aleksandr Vasilyevich Korzhakov [Yeltsin's chief bodyguard], to your deputy and to all the other generals. You have power, strength in your hands. Don't allow any coups, don't allow the violent removal of the president.

I am his opponent. I oppose the government, but I believe in democracy. Since 1917 they have killed the Tsar, killed Lenin, killed Stalin, removed Khrushchev by force, made several attempts to kill Brezhnev, shot at Andropov, and forced the cowardly Gorbachev to hand over power. And now they have deliberately made the president ill. They are manipulating his illness by remote control. They have isolated him, declared a quarantine. They have confiscated weapons from Federal Security Service officers in Moscow. They have deliberately made the Kantemir and Taman divisions incapable of acting.

They have inundated the city with bandits, 100,000 armed men who are not entitled to carry weapons. Mostbank has bought 400 armored vehicles, allegedly to carry its money. But in actual fact each vehicle can carry six thugs. That means an entire division is illegally present in the city. Then there are the [word indistinct] thugs from Israel. All the armed Transcaucasus and North Caucasus bandits are in the city. Hundreds of thousands of them, an entire army, are present in the city. I appeal to Mikhail Ivanovich Barsukov [head of the Federal Security Service]: Give orders for them all to be arrested and disarmed immediately.

What about this disgrace in Groznyy? The war there should be terminated in two days. Use special means. Eliminate all pockets of resistance. (?Remove] the journalists. Declare a state of emergency in the zone and start tackling Russian problems. For an entire year we've had the wool pulled over our eyes in Chechnya and that's too long.

We've already had all that in Afghanistan. For 10 years we were fooled in Afghanistan. And what was the result? War is continuing in Afghanistan, and where are our 12,000 lads? So many veterans of Afghanistan are still tormented with all these [word indistinct], mental illnesses. Now it's happening in Chechnya. How many lads are lying — all the hospitals are packed with our wounded lads. For how long can Russians be messed around? For how much longer can they be plunged into revolutions and wars?

All wars must be ended. The civil war must be ended. The external borders must be defended. A monopoly on foreign trade must be introduced. A monopoly on the sale of vodka and all alcohol, tobacco, and sugar must be introduced. Privatization must be suspended. The fifth column must be isolated. The state sector must be reinstated. We will not hamper the development of the private sector. A new taxation system must be introduced. The maximum tax rate should be 40 percent. Everybody, including citizens and enterprises, will be able to keep 60 percent of their profit. Those would be reforms.

The LDPR must win the elections on 17 December. The Communists may take second place. NDR [Russia is Our Home] will come third. End of story — we will have a three-party parliament. [passage omitted]

What kind of party are these Women of Russia? Are women who don't belong to this movement not in fact Russian women? After all they are an absolute majority. Women should stay at home, at work. They should be part of every collective, of every party. Can you really, these days, make sex organs a factor on which stabilization of the political situation in the country depends? What depths have we sunk to? Why should we let ourselves be fooled? [passage omitted]

Don't believe anybody. They are deceiving you. So, we only want two parties. I beseech you — tomorrow, Friday, hold meetings at all enterprises. Think it over, talk it over. Decide whom you are going to vote for. On Saturday gather all the family together. Give some thought to whom you are going to vote for. [word indistinct] the young people. Don't allow them to go out to discos and dates on Saturday. Let them all stay at home. On Sunday morning everybody must turn out to vote. If 100 million voters turn out to vote, the LDPR will win. Fifty million must vote for the LDPR. Only then will we be part of the government. If that happens, the leader of the LDPR can be a realistic candidate for the post of president.

The presidential elections have already been scheduled for 16 June [1996]. We have two historic dates ahead of us — 17 December and 16 June. If we manage to extricate ourselves from this stupor, from this terrible nightmare, from this allergy of the 20th century, during which we have had alien ideas foisted on us, during which we have by our own hand destroyed the great Russian Empire, the great Soviet Union ...[changes thought]...today we are ourselves breaking up what remains of Russia by allowing war to break out in the Caucasus, by allowing our soldiers to be murdered in Tajikistan, by allowing the country's dismemberment, by not allowing Belarusia back in. They are knocking on our door. Lukashenka, the president, is ready to reunite with Russia tomorrow. But we keep quiet. Our Belarusian brothers are the same people as us.

The Crimea wants to join us. The Dniester region, Abkhazia, Armenia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia — people are being tormented there. Wages are three

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dollars a month. They are starving, dying, leaving, and killing. Today there are three million bandits, four million street children and four million single mothers in the country. There's no such thing as a normal family in the country. Every second family breaks up. We have become a dying society. We are dying physically, morally, ideologically, spiritually.

Medicine is imported and expensive. [words indistinct] food is imported. How can that be allowed? If a country cannot produce food and medicine for itself, it either dies or it will be destroyed. Stop importing food and medicine [words indistinct] specially. You are told that our food is more expensive. Well, messrs democrats, you are the ones who did this. Zaveryukha, Nazarchuk, Chubays, Burbulis, Kozyrev, Shakhray, you did it. Shokhin, Yasin — the president's assistants, Baturin, Livshits, Pain and others — you fixed things in such a way that Russian peasants can no longer produce food. Produce is indeed becoming more expensive. But this is a temporary thing. In a year or two's time prices will go up again and we won't be able to buy imported food either. We are being underfed to the point of starvation, just like in the 1930s when peasants were forced to join collective farms and tens of millions died of hunger.

So, be vigilant, be on your guard. Stop being so trusting, stop being naive, stop weeping. I appeal to you, Russian men. Act like men at long last. Take your vodka out of the fridge and during those two days, Friday and Saturday, think about whom you are going to vote for.

Make your children go to the polling stations! There are 30 million young people. If they cast their votes, the LDPR will win. If the weather is cold, it will be difficult for old men and women to get to the polling stations. Help them! Become monitors and observers, don't allow any falsification! [passage omitted]

Russia is a fatherland to all. We have no anti-semitism, chauvinism, or nationalism, we are against all this. We are not communists, we don't say Karl Marx, atheism or state sector, no. We are saying that there should be a multi-party ideology, that there should be a mixed economy, and one should not interfere in people's private life. And we have achieved this: it is against the law under the new constitution. [passage omitted]

I am begging you: help us, young Russia!

Chernomyrdin Does Not 'Intend To Resign'

LD1712123095 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0836 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Artem Protasenko and Gennadiy Yezhov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 17 Dec — In the event of Russia is Our Home crossing the five percent barrier, Viktor Chernomyrdin, who heads the movement's federal list of candidates, will not become a State Duma deputy. He told journalists this when he cast his vote.

Asked whether he was afraid that the new Duma would put forward a no-confidence motion in the government, Viktor Chernomyrdin said he did not "intend to resign."

Concerning the situation in Russia, the prime minister said that "I do not consider the country's economic situation to be successful." At the same time he said the economy in the past few months shows that "we are doing everything right and the economy is picking up."

The prime minister said that he will definitely be meeting with Boris Yeltsin as usual on Tuesday [19 December] when their planning discussions take place.

Valentina Chernomyrdina, the Russian prime minister's wife, told journalists that she, like most of their family, had voted for Russia is Our Home.

Vows To Sustain Economic Reform Policy

LD1712191495 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Dec 95

[Video report from Moscow, including recording of remark by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin — from the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] At about 1600 Moscow time today, the prime minister and head of the Our Home is Russia movement visited the party headquarters situated in the Hotel Mir in Moscow. He visited the computer information center. The news for that hour, which incidentally pleased the prime minister, was that the elections were deemed valid, despite everything. Then Chernomyrdin answered questions from the journalists who were above all interested to know whether the current policy of economic reform will be changed, if the movement wins a majority in the Duma.

[Chernomyrdin, speaking to journalists] We will not change anything. Change is not what we need. We need to sustain what we are currently doing.

[Announcer] The results of the last three months, the prime minister believes, prove that stability has emerged. Therefore, even if there are any changes in the

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government after the elections, as Chernomyrdin said, they will not be of an astonishing kind in any case. [video shows Chernomyrdin visiting party headquarters]

Relations With West Will Only Improve

LD1712143595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1410 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Artem Protasenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] MOSCOW, 17 Dec — Relations with the United States and other Western countries "will only change for the better," irrespective of the results of today's elections, Viktor Chernomyrdin, leader of the Our Home is Russia sociopolitical movement and chairman of the Russian Federation government, told a news conference today at the movement's headquarters.

He stressed that any possible changes would only be positive ones "no matter what happens — this is too important for peace and for all people."

'Russia is Our Home' Considers Success To Be 30% of Seats

LD1712152495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, De [illegible] (Interfax) — The Russia is Our Home election bloc [illegible]ll consider itself successful if it takes 30 percent of seats in the new Duma, head of the movement headquarters Sergey Belyayev told a briefing in Moscow Sunday [17 December].

It is not obligatory that all the 30 percent of Duma seats belong to the movement members. They can be joined by independent candidates sharing the movement's ideology and deputies of other parties and blocs who fail to win the elections on party lists. "This will be a victory," said Belyayev. "There can hardly be any doubt."

According to Belyayev, the movement aims to form a "united democratic coalition of the democratic majority in the State Duma, to become a real guarantor of further reforms and new presidential elections."

Asked about a possibility to form a coalition government after the elections, Belyayev stressed it is not the matter of a coalition government.

According to him, "the government should be controlled by a real political force to be formed on the basis of the faction of the "Russia is Our Home" movement."

Asked what will be viewed by the movement as a failure in the elections, Belyayev said there will be no failure. He reminded correspondents that the president guaranteed continuation of the reform policy to the government.

"We do not want to speak about a defeat," said the representative. The President is the guarantor of reforms and he guaranteed the government their continuation.

Referring to the voting results in the Far East, he said that one conclusion about the elections can be drawn for sure: The election results will be valid because the majority of Far Eastern regions had over 50 percent attendance.

Commenting on information of the movement experts, Belyayev said that the Liberal-Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy had the largest broadcast time amongst all parties and movements - 15.2 percent of the overall political broadcast time.

It is followed by the Congress of Russian Communities - 14.1 percent of the overall political broadcast time, and the Russia is Our Home - 14 percent.

The bloc of Ivan Rybkin ranks fourth - 10.4 percent, it is followed by the Democratic Choice of Russia (9.2 percent) and the Yabloko bloc (5.4 percent).

According to the movement, it was not one of the three parties which gained most of broadcast time for political commercials at the Russian Public TV and the Russian state TV channel. Russia is Our Home was one of the three leaders in political commercials only on the independent NTV channel.

A total of 27 percent of Moscow residents came to the polling stations by 2 p.m. [1100 GMT] over 30 percent of local residents came to the polling stations by the same time in the Moscow region.

High activeness of the electors is an evidence of Russian society's support to the government policy of reforms, said Belyayev.

Chernomyrdin Makes Final Campaign Speech

LD1512211595 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1540 GMT 15 Dec 95

[Address by Viktor Chernomyrdin, Russian prime minister and leader of the Russia is Our Home bloc; date, place not given — recorded; part of the "Election 95" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear fellow countrymen: We have but a few hours to go before the elections begin and this is probably my last opportunity before the elections to address you directly. I would now like to tell you what I, perhaps, have never spoken about before.

Yes, today they blame us for a lot. Nobody, however, can blame me more than I blame myself. The only

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driving force behind me is my belief in our great nation that forms Russia. I want its every new day to be better than the day before and its pain and sorrow to go away.

All this I feel today in my heart. I know full well what it means to live hand to mouth because I myself come from a working-class family and we have never had a spare kopeck. I can imagine what it is like not to have your pension paid on time and what need is. I hate poverty. We must defeat it and we shall defeat it.

All our life and all our problems, believe me, affect me. Any transition to a new life is extraordinarily complex. Do not think that someone else's reforms somewhere went smoothly and without a hitch. It has never happened to anybody or anywhere.

They criticize us relentlessly. Well, we may have deserved it. There are, however, critics but there also are people who criticize for criticizing's sake. I often picture to myself a man drowning in the river. Someone tries to help him and pull him out of the water, while those standing on the bank cry out: This is wrong and you pulling in the wrong direction. Nobody, however, takes a step to help by action. This is something I cannot understand and cannot accept. Action is what is most important now, which should be done together and not apart.

The country has receded from the brink of the disaster. Production has drawn breath, albeit with difficulty and gratingly. It is no longer on the decline. Sectors and whole industries have already emerged which work well. We have not simply survived, we have begun to live in a human manner, without permanent shortage of supply and without the humiliation of lines.

Any changes and reforms are only good when they are not indefinite and when they finally lead to a normal and quiet life. We have now seen the light. We have stopped the decline. We have begun to build. So should we once again trip over ourselves? Should we once again try to move forward with our head turned backwards or sideways? Should we once again let ourselves be fooled by our belief in stories of universal happiness overnight on Monday after Sunday or on the 101st day after the 100 days? Should we once again shatter our land in the frenzy of struggle for the total equality of everybody?

Will Russian trustfulness and our lack of malice become a tragedy for ourselves, our mothers, our children and our grandchildren? We are a great people whom for so long they have attempted to force into forgetting about this. Attempts have been made but failed and will fail.

What has been most difficult is now behind us. We now know much better what should be done and how. We say that to check rising prices, escalating crime and corruption is what is most important today. We should increase investment, enliven production, and revive spirituality and belief. Reform is turning towards the working people, the Russian producer, farmer, scientist, teacher, serviceman, and senior citizen. It is probably most important now not to stop and not to turn back at the eleventh hour.

I dislike promising and not delivering. I dislike beginning and not finishing or giving up halfway. I like to work. I am used to building. This is my profession. I have done this all my life in the name of my country, our Russia, which has been and shall be great.

Dear fellow countrymen: I ask you to come to the polls. It is your vote that what our common home will be like depends on. I believe in your common sense and your wisdom. I am convinced that everything is going to be all right. Thank you.

Zyuganov, Yavlinskiy Interviewed on Elections

LD1812050495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian at 0400 GMT on 18 December carries a two-minute live or recorded interview with Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov by a 2x2 correspondent in the foyer of the Ostankino Television Center.

Zyuganov says: "The fact that the elections were not thwarted, that they took place is a good sign. It was recognized even in Chechnya that it is better to put things right by ballot paper than machine gun. No matter how many votes a person might get, be it even 100 percent, under the present structure of power, it is still not possible to put much right. It is very important to take the next step, and on that step depends whether a large coalition will be formed, whether a real team will propose its program, interesting candidates both for the post of president and of prime minister and key ministerial posts. If that is the case then the next elections may be approached calmly, otherwise it will be bad for everyone."

Asked if he meant the presidential elections, Zyuganov replies: "Yes, because, under our program they are indissolubly linked. Our platform was prepared before 17 December and 16 June. We are not breaking off that process."

In another brief interview in the corridor, Yabloko leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy thanked voters for their support. Asked if he had received more or less support than expected, Yavlinskiy replies: "More than I expected. Only the results of the elections in some Far East constituencies are known now and it is clear from these results that we received roughly one and a half times more

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than last time." He continues: "I think that the proportions will change as votes are counted in the western part of Russia but evidently the general picture will remain the same as far as the leaders are concerned."

Yavlinskiy Interviewed on Election Results, Chechnya

LD1812022595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 2132 GMT on 17 December carries a 14-minute live interview with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the Russian Yabloko election bloc. The interview is conducted by Yevgeniy Kiselev, the presenter of the "Itogi" "Election 95" program.

They start by summing up the preliminary results of voting in the Far East. Yavlinskiy is satisfied with the results which show an improvement on the previous elections in 1993.

Asked about possible coalition with other factions in the Duma, Yavlinskiy says that it was an option when solving individual issues. He goes on to say that "one of the first issues, or even the first issue which definitely has to be worked upon will be the Chechen war. Regarding the Chechen war, I'd like to tell you that no matter what names individual parties bear, if these parties and individual deputies take a stand which would contribute to stopping the killing of people which is going on non-stop there, the names of these parties will be of no importance." Asked about the essence of his proposals on Chechnya he says that "we will have to make the decision that was rejected a year ago, a law on the methods and guarantees for holding relevant talks in Chechnya, to stop the senseless and often provocative activities by the federal bodies which lead to increasing aggravation" of the situation in Chechnya.

Kiselev then asks Yavlinskiy whether Yabloko would press for a vote of confidence in the government. Yavlinskiy replied that "Yabloko believed and believes that there are two circumstances: first, in the current situation it's a senseless business, an absolutely senseless business because it's the president who defines the government's course. So here we can speak only about the president." He continues: "And the second circumstance: why should the deputies raise the issue of confidence in the government after the elections? After all, the elections will show whether the government has support or not." Asked whether Chernomyrdin should go if Russia Is Our Home fails to gain the majority of votes, Yavlinskiy replies that "generally speaking, to be honest, he not simply should — he must go. What Chernomyrdin and Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] are saying today is of no importance." He continues: "In my view, if Russia Is Our Home rates third, fourth, fifth, or I don't know, the president will have to have a conversation, as the saying goes in such cases, and he will say: there is a view that the elections have been lost; sorry but... [you must go]."

Pressed by Kiselev on the subject, Yavlinskiy continues: "Otherwise what can happen? There will be a continuous and very sharp confrontation before the presidential elections between the parties that have won. For instance, if it's the Communist Party it will say: look, we've won the elections but the old government and the president remain. And all this will be taking place against a background of preparations for the presidential elections, and this will create great difficulties. So the president will have to find a way to open the doors. Incidentally, he always acts like that. I believe that what happened in Chechnya was a direct consequence of Zhirinovskiy's victory in 1993. Or for instance, after sufficient pressure was exerted, members of the Agrarian Party or the Communist Party — the justice minister — suddenly entered the government. The president therefore always believes that if it's advantageous to make certain moves favoring those who are seemingly popular today he will make them."

Asked by Kiselev about his plans, already well-known, to run for the presidency, Yavlinskiy replies that "after the results of the elections are summed up, two or three weeks later relevant organizational operations will be carried out and the nomination will take place. These are our specific plans. And after that we will be preparing for the presidential elections."

Yavlinskiy says he did not know anything about Aleksandr Shokhin's proposal to Yabloko to cooperate constructively in the State Duma and spoke rather skeptically about Russia Is Our Home's chances to overcome the five percent barrier. In Yavlinskiy's view, if Viktor Chernomyrdin fails to become a Duma deputy and loses his post in the government Russia Is Our Home "will vanish into thin air, like smoke."

In conclusion, Yavlinskiy thanks his voters for their trust and support and promised to do everything to justify this trust.

On Forming Coalition in Duma

LD1712153595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (Interfax) — Leader of the Yabloko movement Grigoriy Yavlinskiy sees the Sunday election as preparations for next year's presidential poll, Yavlinskiy told reporters at a polling station in Moscow.

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He described it as being "a vital stage in the run up to the presidential poll and a changeover of government in Russia as a whole." Yavlinskiy told our correspondent that final results from the Sunday vote would help tell about the public's sympathies in next year's presidential election and indicate general mood which "is important for a balance of forces."

He said Yabloko would try to form a new coalition in the new parliament but it was early days yet to tell anything about its make up. Nor does he rule out that Yabloko will play a solo depending on who wins seats in the lower house though "this is not too good."

Yavlinskiy believes the Russian Communist Party (CPRF) will win a substantial number of seats in the new Duma given that the government including Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin are in pursuit of policies playing into CPRF's hand alone. But he does not believe CPRF will win an overwhelming majority to able to carry out its own decisions.

Yabloko, CPRF Leaders Interviewed on Privatization

LD1612231295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 2120 GMT on 13 December carries a 15-inute "Versions" program on privatization and the respective attitudes toward it of the Yabloko bloc and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.

Explaining the choice of topic, presenter Sergey Dorenko says: "According to opinion polls many Russians intend to vote for the party which will stop the privatization robbery and the privatization saga might become one of the main subjects in this summer's struggle for the Kremlin. The purpose of privatization was presented as the creation of a middle class of owners as a political bulwark of reform. But no middle class has been created as a result. It was meant to create a more effective economy as well but nothing of the kind can be seen. A raw materials country is not producing anything of note except raw materials. In fact what has been created is thousands of ultra-rich families and millions of citizens who consider themselves deceived."

Reporter Dmitriy Pinskiy interviews Vitaliy Nayshul, director of the institute for a national model economy, described by Dorenko as "the author of the privatization idea." Nayshul says that privatization as carried out by First Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays was a compromise version. As a result property owners are either the nomenklatura or businessmen. They behave as shareholders, taking an interest in their property which is good for the economy, Nayshul says, but problems arise as a result of the unfair division of property.

Yabloko leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy is then interviewed. He says: "You will now find a very large number of people who would like to condemn Anatoliy Borisovich Chubays personally. I am not one of those people for whom this is of particular interest. I am more concerned about another problem, how far and within what timeframe it is possible in principle to change the situation in this sector at present. If a significant amount of our money, capital, is going abroad today, if our fall in production continues, if we do not have a bankruptcy procedure today, if we do not change the managers, if we do not have investment - there has been a 20 percent fall in investment over the past few years - this means that the privatization that has been carried out has proved to be ineffective economically and consequently harmful politically.

"On the whole privatization is carried out with two aims. There are only two aims: the first is to replace managers with more effective ones and the second to attract investment. Neither the first nor the second has happened yet."

Asked what is to be done, Yavlinskiy replies: "Today's position means that an economic course, special economic course, which will lead to the appearance of real, so-called strategic owners, people who will invest their resources or resources they have attracted, partially state resources, to the creation of jobs, development of production, creation of products which can compete on the market."

Also interviewed, Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, says: "As a responsible politician, someone who knows the real state of affairs in the country, I understand that if you begin to take things away tomorrow, then shooting begins everywhere the day after tomorrow. Essentially things are different. Nobody has engaged in such stupid politics, nor intends to do so.

"I favor enterprises being privatized or turned into joint-stock companies, then they should be examined to see if they work well, if they yield any increment, if the workers are being paid, if social rights are guaranteed, if trade union privileges are being protected, well then, thank God, if it is supported, it should work. Well, with an enterprise where things are not going well, a look should be taken at why things are the way they are. And there are places where they are simply stealing, which are being cleaned out and being destroyed completely. It is not the party that should be concerned with this but the responsible, competent bodies that should be concerned with it.

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"In any state privatization is carried out when it is clear that this enterprise, as a result of privatization, will work better. For example in France, assessment is the most important stage in privatization, 80 enterprises at most a year. And those who buy it never take part in the assessment of the enterprise. But here one person comes along, puts up some money and it's not clear how much, does not announce a contest and that's it."

The interviewer asks: "What happened with voucher privatization, do you think it was Chubays's perfidiousness or his lack of talent and failure to understand the situation?" Zyuganov replies: "When Luzhkov, quite an influential man, in the presence of the prime minister says that Chubays is like the worst pioneer [words indistinct], you can imagine what this mayor has been driven to in assessing this practice. I think it is just perfidiousness, deliberate destruction of all the production bases. Just imagine, someone began to sell for a song things from his house - the fridge, suite, furniture, his clothes, for a song, just like that. And in a week he is walking about (?completely) naked and in three weeks he dies of hunger."

Rybkin Has No Worries on Election Day

LD1712112395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0729 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 17 Dec — "For the second time in history Russia is calmly changing one parliament for another, not rashly but within the framework of the law... and I like this calm," said State Duma chairman Ivan Rybkin after he was one of the first to vote in Moscow polling station No 201 [Universitetskiy constituency in south-west Moscow].

Ivan Rybkin said he "had no nerves or worries" with regard to the election results. "This is the voice of the people, of God for me," he said, "so I am not at all worried today. It is very important that people come and vote themselves and choose for themselves who is in power."

Lapshin: Election Results Will Decide Land Issue

LD1712133595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUBNEVO, THE MOSCOW REGION, Dec 17 (Interfax) — The Russian parliament election results will predetermine solution of the land issue if they are not falsified, leader of the Russian Agrarian Party Mikhail Lapshin told an exclusive Interfax interview Sunday [17 December] at a polling station in the Dubnevo settlement near Moscow.

Whether the land becomes an object of speculation or property of land cultivators depends on which parties win a majority in the new parliament, said Lapshin.

He does not doubt the activeness and choice of rural residents (which amount to 38 percent of the Russian population - IF). "They have always cared for Russia, and now that money-bags want to grab arable lands the peasants will say "NO" to their political mates," stressed Lapshin.

He did not conceal that his family voted for the federal candidate list of the Agrarian Party of Russia, and Lapshin himself voted for ex-Soviet Foreign Minister (current chairman of the World Council of Ex-Foreign Ministers and President of the Russian Foreign Economic Association — IF) Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, who runs to the State Duma in the 116th electoral district of Serpukhov.

Women of Russia's Lakhova on Election Results

LD1812005595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 2132 GMT on 17 December carries a live 10-minute in-studio interview with Yekaterina Lakhova, a leader of Women of Russia, by correspondent Yevgeniy Kiselev.

Kiselev asks Lakhova for her reaction to the elections results so far. She replies: "The fact that there is such a high percentage for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is not very heartening. We did not expect that because we did not expect him to get such a high percentage. The Working Moscow Party has appeared with 5.1 percent. It was also unexpected that Viktor Anpilov's party would win so many votes in the Far East."

"I think Russia Is Our Home and Yabloko did not take very many votes since we were counting on a higher percentage on the basis of the results of 1993. What is worrying is that the electorate believes people who are trying to promise as much as possible at the last minute."

She continues: "I think that the Communist Party disoriented people in the pre-election campaign, especially the elderly, and simply deceived them in many ways."

Lakhova says that the free seven and a half minutes' air time was not enough to tell people everything and it was not realistic to travel around Russia to speak to voters. She says that her bloc had bought 15 minutes air time once and also thanks Kiselev for the air time they had had on "Itogi".

Asked what is expected of the new State Duma on the basis of the results so far, Lakhova replies: "I think that

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Russia Is Our Home may take more votes in simple-majority constituencies since they have a very decent number of heads of enterprises". She continued: "The LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] don't have all that many votes now. I think that the Communists and the LDPR don't have all that many votes and if anybody receives any more it will be Our Home is Russia in simple-majority constituencies so they may increase their percentage thanks to simple-majority constituencies".

Asked what she thinks the fate of the government would be, Lakhova replies: "I don't think that it is to the advantage of either Gennadiy Zyuganov of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, for instance, to raise the issue of no-confidence in the government today in view of the fact that they will prepare for the presidential elections".

She continues: "I think that Viktor Chernomyrdin will remain but if Viktor Stepanovich and the president decide the matter together they could adjust the government team slightly."

Asked what changes Women of Russia will support, Lakhova says: "We might want to change the social bloc of issues, to present proposals. We are not happy with how privatization is proceeding today, for instance." She says that Women of Russia is of the opinion that the Economic Ministry is not fulfilling its functions as it should.

She continues: "All the power ministries are of very great concern today in the respect that there is no coordination between them today. They do not hide that. Also of concern is the fact that the budget which was presented was practically not coordinated by the power ministries. Also of concern is the question of Chechnya, which also requires coordination. And we also want the Security Council to have the power which the constitution gave it."

Yeltsin Appreciates Voters Turnout in Russia

LD1812093695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0918 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (Itar-Tass) — "Russian President Boris Yeltsin highly appreciates the turnout of voters during the Sunday elections," Presidential Press Secretary Sergey Medvedev told Itar-Tass today, adding that the "massive turnout had confirmed the president's forecast".

Medvedev said that this heightened activity of Russian voters (according to a report released by the Central Election Commission 64.95 percent of the electorate had taken part in the voting) refutes the forecasts made on the eve of the elections that the voters would not come to the polls. "The president's appeal to the citizens of the country, which was broadly published by the mass media on the eve of the elections, has greatly influenced the decision of people to take part in the elections," the Press Secretary said.

Medvedev pointed out that the president's assistants and the head of his Administration were regularly reporting to Yeltsin on the progress of the voting and on the count of the votes. However, he believes that it is yet premature to speak about the distribution of votes, because the final conclusions could be drawn only after the Central Election Commission confirms every per cent in its communiques, including those on the single-mandate constituencies.

Yeltsin will discuss the preliminary results of the voting during is usual Tuesday meeting with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Medvedev stated.

Filatov 'Not Pleased' With 'Fellow Democrats'

LD1812122795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — Sergey Filatov, the presidential administration chief, was not pleased with his fellow democrats in a conference with journalists at the Central Electoral Commission on Monday [18 December].

"The outcome of elections to the State Duma indicates that the democrats were unable and did not want to unite," Filatov noted.

President Yeltsin "has been closely following the election results," Filatov noted, adding that all incoming information has been promptly passed onto the president. "Analysis of the positions of regions is underway," he said.

"Forming two blocs — one, center right, the other, center left — was not a mistake", Filatov noted, adding that "the troubles that befell Ivan Rybkin's bloc during its creation prevented it from doing better."

According to Filatov, the democrats stood the real chance "to unite in these blocs or around them."

Asked about the expediency of a call by a leader of Russia's Democratic Choice Aleksandr Yakovlev to rid the country of "Bolshevism," Filatov replied that if the Russian Communist Party renounces Bolshevism as a form of power, the country is not in danger. "We need to do away with our past once and for all, and if the Russian Communist Party is ready to help in this," everyone will welcome such assistance, Filatov stressed.

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Yeltsin Aide: 'Parity' Still Exists in Duma

LD1812123095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — "The myth that the recent Duma elections pushed the Russian political pendulum left does not stand up to criticism," presidential aide Georgiy Satarov told an Interfax exclusive interview Monday [18 December].

"The preliminary voting results do not bother me, and should not bother Russians who care for the reforms," stressed Satarov.

The preliminary results of Monday noon are satisfactory, because the approximate equality of votes gained by the Russian Communist Party and the three political forces of the Russia is Our Home, Yabloko and the Democratic Choice of Russia, make a full parity of retrograde forces and reform supporters, said Satarov. This parity is similar to the one in the old State Duma, he noted.

Commenting on votes for the Liberal Democratic Party, Satarov said "they belong to people who stand for words they heard from the liberal democrats, and not for any programs or an ideology which the Liberal Democratic Party does not possess."

According to preliminary information, about 11 percent of elections participants voted for the Liberal Democratic Party, Satarov said.

"This is a rather low index against the background of lumpenization and the current realities," he said.

Yeltsin Official on Expected High Voter Turnout

LD1712120695 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Our correspondent Aleksey Zagvozdkin asked Emil Pain, deputy head of the president's analytical department, what may account for a high voter turnout.

[Begin recording] [Pain] The voting is proceeding in accordance with our forecasts. The voter turnout in 1993 was 5-10 percent higher there [not further identified] than Russia's average. A whole number of local factors affects it. For example, the parliamentary elections in Maritime Territory coincide with gubernatorial elections, which increase the turnout. Predictions made by our department with regard to the turnout are coming true, but so far it is difficult to pinpoint the nature of the high turnout. There are two versions: first, the high turnout is a form of protest against the present situation, and, secondly, there are fears that the regime will be changed radically.

[Zagvozdkin] What sections of the electorate are the most active voters, according to your information?

[Pain] There are no changes in comparison with traditional elections. The old people cast their votes earlier.

[Zagvozdkin] Have you got any information about any unusual events during the elections?

[Pain] So far — no. [end recording]

Yeltsin Aide Satarov Interviewed on Elections

LD1812065595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 0032 GMT on 18 December carries an 8-minute interview with Georgiy Satarov, aide to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, as part of the "Itogi" special election bulletins. Host Yevgeniy Kiselev interviews Satarov live in the "Itogi" studio.

Asked how he assessed the results of voting in the Far East and Siberia, Satarov replies: "In the first instance, I consider them to be very preliminary results."

He continues: "Speaking of the election successes, the rather high vote received by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia really was unexpected. As far as the Communists are concerned, according to our estimates, we thought that they would receive a bit more in the Far East."

Asked how he saw the new State Duma, Satarov replies: "I want to remind you that at the end of December 1993 and the beginning of January 1994, when the results of the Duma elections were regarded as extremely dramatic, we managed nevertheless to work normally with the Duma, in comparison, naturally with the preceding period. I don't think that the results of these elections will hinder such work. I don't think that it will have a critical majority, let's say, of left-wing forces, which will hinder such work".

Asked whether they considered the election results to be a personal misfortune, Satarov answers, sighing: "I think that the most weighty factor which hindered the creation of two strong blocs was the electoral system, first of all, which, in principle does not stimulate unification in big blocs."

He continues: "The political structure has not changed a great deal. The potential Communist electorate has not increased much in comparison with 1991, for instance. It was around 30 percent of the entire electorate and it still is. What has changed is that the democratic electorate has decreased somewhat."

Satarov said he did not know whether President Yeltsin would decide to run in the presidential elections in June.

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Aide: Communist Success 'No Surprise' to Yeltsin

LD1812045295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0446 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By Igor Belskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (Itar-Tass) — The communist and nationalist success at parliamentary elections was no surprise for the Russian president, his aide said.

"The early returns of elections to the State Duma were not a surprise for the aides of the Russian President", Mark Urnov, the head of the Analytical center at the Russian President told Tass on Monday.

He said the electorate of the leftist parties turned out to be more responsible than the others and all of them came to the polls.

The communists and nationalists were leading in a half of Russian regions, according to early returns.

Party Leaders on First Steps in Future Parliament

MK1612145195 Moscow KOMMERSANT in Russian No. 46, 12 Dec 95 p 9

[Answers by Gennadiy Zyuganov, Mikhail Lapshin, Yuriy Skokov, Vladimir Lukin, Yegor Gaydar to KOMMERSANT questions]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Question 1] "What law will your faction submit to the next State Duma for consideration first of all?"

[Question 2] "Which of the current laws do you think should be immediately annulled or amended?"

KOMMERSANT put these two questions to leaders of major political associations and blocs.

Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation:

1. The laws on the subsistence minimum, on agricultural cooperation, on the fight against corruption, and a number of others. In a word, in the first place, we will focus on a whole range of laws aimed at protecting domestic production and the people. These laws have already been passed by the Duma, but have yet to be considered by the Federation Council or have not been signed by the president.

2. The Communists think that the executive branch's wide-ranging authority should be complemented by its accountability to the parliament. For this to be done, it is necessary to make corresponding amendments to the Constitution and vest the parliament with supervisory functions.

Mikhail Lapshin, leader of the Agrarian Party of Russia:

1. The first piece of legislation will concern land. We have not yet tackled this matter, so we ought to return to it and to matters of agricultural policy in general. The absence of normal land legislation may lead to complete lawlessness.

2. The first piece of legislation that we will urge to be revised or declared null and void will be the Belovezhskaya Forest accord. We ought to resolve this painful problem of the country's split.

Yuriy Skokov, leader of the Congress of Russian Communities [KRO]:

1. As its first legislative initiative in the next State Duma, the KRO faction will submit the law on the government's responsibility for a falling standard of living.

2. First of all, KRO deputies will propose amendments to the Constitution of the Russian Federation to include in it the questions that have already been put to a referendum initiated by the Congress — on the government's responsibility and on introducing the term "union of peoples" as the underlying foundation on which to build the Russian Federation.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the "Yabloko" bloc.

No answers have been received.

Vladimir Lukin, a leader of the bloc, answered the questions:

1. The first piece of legislation that "Yabloko" will submit to the next Duma will be amendments to the Constitution curbing the president's authority and broadening the parliament's supervisory functions.

2. The first piece of legislation that "Yabloko" will propose to be revised will be the law "On Production Sharing Contracts," which, as approved by the Duma, guarantees anything but foreign investment.

Yegor Gaydar, leader of the Russia's Democratic Choice party:

1. To adopt a new pro-market land code that will open up a path toward private ownership of land and private circulation of land.

2. First of all, to repeal the law on the amendments to the Law on Universal Military Service Obligation which increase the length of service. We insist on repealing it because military spending and the money spent on the armed forces and their maintenance costs account for an immense share of the overall expenditure, and the military itself makes up a considerable portion of our society. Remilitarizing our society and economy would mean to sign them a death sentence.

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European Observers Find Russian Elections 'Democratic'

LD1812082695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0811 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By Natalia Cherepanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ST.PETERSBURG, December 18 (Itar-Tass) - The Russian elections are "deemed 100 per cent free and democratic by European observers", member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe David Atkinson told Itar-Tass. He is to deliver one of the three main reports on January 25 in Strasbourg, where Russia's membership in the Council of Europe is to be debated.

Atkinson said that the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of European would be recommended to grant Russia membership.

He monitored the elections at the 210th Northwestern Election District of St. Petersburg on Sunday, where he visited fifteen polling stations. "All the procedures were in keeping with the European standards of free democratic elections," he commented.

Election Commission Releases Comments on Early Voting

LD1712131595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (Interfax) — From 1 to 2 percent out of the total number of the capital's electors have voted in Moscow as of 10:00 a.m. [0700 GMT], Chairman of the Moscow Electoral Commission Valentin Gorbunov announced this at the first out of five planned press conferences in the interim Moscow press center.

There are 6,791,849 voters in the lists of electors in the Russian capital, according to the Moscow city election commission. As many as 3088 electoral districts have been opened in Moscow from 8:00 a.m. of December 17.

The Moscow Electoral Commission organized the interim Moscow press center with assistance from the City Hall press center and Interfax news agency.

European Monitor: Duma Elections 'Cannot be Rigged'

LD1712164095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1608 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By Nikolay Kalintsev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 12 (Itar-Tass) — Today's election to the Russian State Duma cannot be rigged, at least not at polling stations, member of the Europarliament's delegation of monitors Constanze Krehl said in an interview with Itar-Tass today.

She said concern over possible rigging has been reiterated to the European monitors over the past weeks. Krehl said she personally was warned about some ten feasible ways of fooling the voters.

However, such apprehensions in all appearance are not coming true, Krehl said.

She said she had visited several polling stations in Moscow, and made sure that fraud was impossible there, with local observer delegates of parties on the vigil.

Other monitors of the Europarliament acknowledged correctness of the procedure and good arrangement of the elections in St. Petersburg, Rostov and other Russian cities.

They also found the activity of voters to be higher than in the 1993 parliamentary elections.

Krehl said this was an indication that the Russians came to an understanding that the parliamentary elections are as important as presidential ones.

She said the high turnout provided an additional safeguard against manipulations and promised that the new Duma would be more moderate.

OSCE Delegation Head: No Irregularities in Duma Elections

LD1712101495 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Peter Emery, head of a delegation of observers representing the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] parliamentary assembly, stated that the elections to the Russian State Duma are progressing in a democratic way in full accordance with legislation. He told correspondents that the OSCE observers had not found any irregularities or incidents that voters were pressured. He also said that the observers were planning to visit up to 400 polling stations until the end of the day.

International Observer Says Elections Will Be Honest

LD1512135695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1350 GMT 15 Dec 95

[By Aleksy Berezhkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NEW YORK, December 15 (Itar-Tass) — "The upcoming elections to the State Duma are a new step in the democratic process currently

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under way in Russia," international observer Rabbi Arthur Schneier, who has just returned from Moscow, told Itar-Tass today.

"The fact that 43 political parties and movements are taking part in the elections testifies to the indepth changes that have taken place in Russia. In my opinion, this is an unwarranted luxury. I got the impression after meeting leaders of the Central Election Commission and parties, after visiting several polling stations that these will be fair and honest elections," Schneier said.

"An important impact on the outcome of elections, to my mind, will be made by the votes of people of an older generation, because the economic reforms have deprived them of the habitual social protection. Therefore, they are dissatisfied with their present-day conditions," the Rabbi noted. "Their votes will be those of protest, which will be cast for the communist party and other organisations that are close to it, not for the centrist democrats," he added.

Schneier came to Russia as an international observer. He headed a delegation from the "Appeal of Conscience" Foundation, an American ecumenical organisation, which comes out for the freedom of religion, mutual understanding, and tolerance in order to put an end to ethnic conflicts. He had meetings with Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, communist leader Gennadiy Zyuganov, one of the leaders of the "Yabloko" bloc Vladimir Lukin, Chairman of the Central Election Commission Nikolay Ryabov, Patriarch of Moscow and All of Russia Aleksey II and Chief Rabbi of Russia Abram Shayevich. According to Rabbi Schneier, the visit to Russia produced a deep impression on him, primarily because he was able to witness a "genuine revival of religious life in the country."

Ryabov: No Serious Change in Parliamentary Line-Up

LD1812104395 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 1000 GMT 18 Dec 95

[Video report by unidentified correspondent]

[FBIS Translated Text] There will be no serious changes in the line-up of political forces in the next parliament: Russia is Our Home will take the place of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord and the Democratic Party, announced Nikolay Ryabov, Central Electoral Commission chairman. Russia is Our Home, which according to selective results of the voting in 58 component members of the federation gained 9.5 percent of the vote, has been boosted by successes in Moscow and St Petersburg. The Communist Party of Russia, in Ryabov's view, will not gain any significant advantage, they are getting about the same number of votes as they did in 1993.

Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration, said the high level of interest in and persistent liking of a certain sector of the electorate for the Liberal Democratic Party was surprising. He pointed out that the president was following the results of the voting attentively and analyzing these results. At the same time, he stressed that nothing supernatural had occurred.

Army Legislation Moves Seen as Electioneering

MM1512163795 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 1

[Article by Nikolay Poroskov: "Amendments to Amendments. More on Manpower Acquisition and Politicians' Populism, Which Is Preventing a Systematic Solution to This Complex Problem"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The pillboxes and bunkers of the mass media of a certain (for which read anti-Army and consequently antistate) persuasion, which had only just fallen silent for a while, have swung into action again, spitting out machine-gun bursts of "denunciatory" newspaper phrases. Their field of fire is the same as before — the Armed Forces, and above all problems regarding the draft and manpower acquisition for the Army, Navy, and "other" forces. In order to portray the current situation more clearly let us recall the background.

As is known, on 29 April 1995 the Federal Law "On Amendments and Additions to the Russian Federation Law 'On the Military Service Obligation and Military Service'" was passed. Among other things it abolished certain types of military service draft deferment and increased military service to two years. Everybody in the Armed Forces then breathed a sigh of relief as if to say: At last we will be able to bring units and combined units up to normal strength. Optimists mentioned a figure of over 80 percent.

The rejoicing, however, was premature. On 20 July this year the Duma adopted three laws with titles that are extremely difficult to pronounce, therefore I will mention only one: The Federal Law "On Amendments and Additions to the Federal Law 'On Amendments and Additions to the Russian Federation Law "On the Military Service Obligation and Military Service."'" These acts envisaged the return of draft deferment for a youth who is being brought up and maintained by his parent (or the person in loco parentis) if the latter is over 50 years old, the reduction in the service period for soldiers and NCO's in "trouble spots" to 18 months, and the application of the two-year service period only to

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people drafted for service since 1 October 1995. That is, under the Duma members' scheme three whole groups drafted for two years under the previous— existing — law would have to serve only 18 months.

At the "instigation" of Sergey Yushenkov, chairman of the State Duma Defense Committee, innovations have several times been "folded into" the mechanism for passing laws (Duma — Federation Council— president), but on each occasion they did not come off, for various reasons. But Rome wasn't built in a day and on 15 November the State Duma overcame the Federation Council "veto." But Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin sent back these laws to the State Duma without considering them — "because of the failure to observe the provisions of Article 105, Section 5 of the Russian Federation Constitution when they were considered a second time by the State Duma after being rejected by the Federation Council." Let us remind our readers of this article of the Constitution: "In the event that the State Duma disagrees with the Federation Council's decision the federal law is passed if at least two-thirds of the total number of State Duma deputies vote for it in the repeat voting." That is, it is a question of a contravention of procedural norms.

There are many illogicalities in the laws that have been submitted for approval. The paradoxical situation whereby one section of the spring 1995 draft will serve 18 months (those drafted in April) and another will serve 24 months (those drafted in May-June) will lead to unfortunate consequences for military collectives and society as a whole. The president did not discern any objective preconditions for restoring the abovementioned deferment — at 50 years old a parent or person in loco parentis is quite capable of working. But if the parent really does need outside help or care, his son can already be granted deferment in accordance with Article 21, Section 1, Paragraph (b) of the Russian Federation Law "On the Military Service Obligation and Military Service." In addition, in his edict of 3 December the Russian Federation president discharged soldiers and NCO's who have carried out missions in armed conflict conditions in the Chechen Republic and the Republic of Tajikistan: If they have served at least a month in such conditions they have to serve only 18 months, and likewise even if they have served less than a month but have been wounded, concussed, or maimed.

The president's decision provoked a stormy reaction both from certain politicians and from the mass media, which are switched on as if by command. Let us listen to their main arguments: Mothers are waiting for their sons; the president does not need voters' votes; such a large Army cannot be fed; the law is not retroactive, etc.

The first two hardly need any comment. It is easy to play on mothers' feelings, it is much harder to make unpopular but necessary decisions. The adoption of "amendments to amendments" surprisingly coincided with the election campaign. In specialists' opinion the commentaries and assessments are of a populist, opportunist nature and are exclusively associated with election games and in no way with the interests of the country's security.

As regards the Army's size, there are limits to cutting it (and not only our Army). Specifically, they depend on the size of the territory and the length of the state border. In China there are 123 servicemen for every kilometer of the border, in the United States there are 99, and in Russia only 28. We would get approximately the same ratios using the percentage ratios of the size of the population to the size of the Army.

In saying that "the law is not retroactive," the people lobbying for amendments are at the very least dissembling. Under Article 54, Paragraph 1 of the Russian Federation Constitution the only law which cannot be retroactive is one which "establishes or aggravates responsibility." That is, if a citizen were given a year for libel, for example, but later they had second thoughts and said: No, make that five instead. "Champions of human rights and the citizen" would have nothing to complain about: Article 55, Paragraph 3 of the Constitution makes it possible to limit them "as much as is necessary in the interests...of the country's defense and the state's security."

On 9 December the State Duma approved the statute of the 3 December edict, incorporating it in its entirety in a separate law. But it made additions to it. The first thing was the age of the parent whose son has the right to defer; they increased it to 52 (?). The second was the provision that the two-year service period is still effective from 1 October 1995. Thereby an impetus was given to a new twist in the process of pushing populist amendments through. Because the mechanism for passing laws is still the same, it is entirely reasonable to expect that the president will send back this document to the State Duma as well — by which time it will be a new State Duma. So why are the current deputies making all this fuss, if not for election campaign purposes? Meanwhile everybody should understand what the current 64 percent Armed Forces strength level means. Many combined units and units are virtually unable to carry out their daily activities even at the minimum necessary volume, while units and ships, including those on alert duty as part of the strategic nuclear triad, are on the verge of losing their combat readiness. There will be nobody to replace the 230,000 people who under the Duma

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members' scheme are liable to discharge this fall from the Armed Forces and other forces. We will not be able to- guarantee peacekeeping functions in the Dniester region, Tajikistan, Abkhazia, and Yugoslavia or the protection of the state border, and maintaining force groupings in the Chechen Republic in a state of combat readiness will become an insoluble problem. The State Duma's decision — intentionally or not — is objectively aimed at undermining the state's defense capability and destroying its Armed Forces, and could have unpredictable consequences.

It is a great pity that attempts to make preelection political capital out of the Army are continuing. Evidently we will soon hear new "dispassionate" commentaries. On 5 December the State Duma adopted the Federal Law "On Higher and Post-Higher Vocational Education." It extends the list of grounds on which students at higher vocational educational establishments can obtain draft deferment. For example, it gives them the opportunity to obtain the desired deferment irrespective of training already undertaken at the preceding level. It additionally grants deferment to students in higher educational establishments which have only a state license and not state accreditation — there are over 500 of them in Russia. This contradicts existing legislation and creates the conditions for anybody to evade service on entirely legal grounds. The adopted legal provisions concerning deferments are also contradictory in that they are not a subject which falls within the said law's terms of reference.

Just how long can military collectives be kept on tenterhooks by endless amendments? When will the final decisions finally be made on the questions of service periods and deferments from service? Do the initiators of all sorts of amendments really not understand that in order to suit the political conditions it is impermissible virtually every month to bring confusion to such a complex and crucial matter as manpower acquisition?

The answers to these questions will largely depend on the new State Duma. So the uniformed voters now have some food for thought when they go to the polls.

Chernomyrdin Seen Emerging Damaged From Election

MK1612135495 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 1

[Commentary by Mikhail Leontev: "After the Election"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The political face of the new Duma can now already be discerned with a great degree of precision. Given all the differences in "technique," all of the polls enable one to assume that the political face of the new Russian parliament will be painted in these colors — about 50 percent will be various shades of red-brown, conventionally called "the left" here; about 30 percent will be "mottled pink" or the "dead wood" conventionally called "centrists"; the remaining 20 percent will be "white-blue," or democrats and liberal democrats. The not exactly appealing complexion — with a clear preponderance of warm "leftist" hues in it — is mitigated, however, by the traditional pragmatism of a considerable part of the deputy corps, who resolve their own corporate problems without regard for their original political likes and dislikes (if there really were any). [passage omitted]

I believe the president had every chance, using well-known constitutional procedures, if not to have postponed the elections, then at least to have helped alter the "rules of the game" in such a way as to lend the election procedure the necessary minimum of sanity and deny the Communists' hopes for a walkover. The president "declined to intervene" at the crucial moment. Because he would hate to expose the smooth progress of the election procedure to any risk. Because the election was needed here and now.

What was clear to other people well in advance became clear as the deadline drew near — the "party of power" stands to lose. At any rate, whatever the real score, it can be interpreted as the premier's defeat. Where there is a will, you know.

In a well-known interview, the president assigned [Russia Is] "Our Home" a 7- to 10-percent "success." This is a cinch. Even if the score is greater than that, it will all the same be less than what all the direct rivals are going to win. At any rate, this falls rather short of what is needed for a "nationwide" sanction for power.

This does not at all mean that the premier will have to quit — far from it. After a public demonstration of the fact that there is no democratic sanction for power, it will become obvious that all the powers of the premier come exclusively from the president. There is, obviously, the view based on a well-known formula [Lenin's words about Stalin]: "The premier has concentrated immense power, and 'somebody' is not sure he will be able to make correct use of it." Especially at the most critical, "cash-based" stage of privatization. Even a "relative" election defeat for the premier's party offers a chance to change the status of the premier and the government in the structure of the Russian power system, in the way government teams are formed and power distributed. One can only wait and see who will avail themselves of this opportunity and how.

Finally, it rather suits the president that the parliament has grown decisively red on the threshold of the presidential election. It is this reddening that gives

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hope for restoring some pro-reform coalition around the president as the sole guarantor against a Communist comeback and a fresh redistribution of property. There are no other choices.

Symptomatically, the prelude to the slaughter of the premier's party in the parliamentary elections is the widespread fighting in Gudermes. The inevitable decision to forcibly make the Dudayevites "give up military operations" signifies the natural demise of the Chechen peacemaking process started by the shameful agreements with the bandit Basayev, made in public. It is actually from that moment that the independent political life of Viktor Chernomyrdin and his "party" commenced. The premier emerged as a "peacekeeper," shifting the onus of responsibility for the failure of military efforts in Chechnya onto the presidential team. One can imagine what they really think of this initiative of the "peacekeeper." Now comes the hour for him to pay.

This is perhaps the only thing they are right about.

Differences Between Duma Election, Previous Polls

LD1612111295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1059 GMT 16 Dec 95

[By Lyudmila Alexandrova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 16 (Itar-Tass) — Only two years separate the coming December 17 elections to the State Duma (Russian parliament lower house) from the previous polls. However, both the situation in which they will be held and their political importance will differ considerably from the situation in December 1993.

The present elections will be held, above all, in a more politically normal situation.

Preliminary data show that a turn-out may be higher than initially forecasted. While 50.6 percent of the electorate participated in the 1993 polls, it is expected (according to forecasts) that the turn-out will be at least 60 percent.

However, no matter what the composition of a new Duma will be, it is highly improbable that sweeping changes will take place in Russia's political life in the next few months.

Small doubt that right after the December 17 voting, all the major political leaders will get down to bracing for the next stage of the election race — the 1996 presidential elections.

The general elections will, in actual fact, become the first round of the presidential poll and will enable politicians to start, in a new way and conscious of their real influence, haggling with possible allies to conclude election alliances.

It is self-evident that the first six months of the new Duma's work will be also subordinated to the logic of preparations for these main elections for Russia.

Implications of Early Election Results Discussed

LD1812034695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0233 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Smelov and Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 18 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Preliminary results at 0515 Moscow time [0215 GMT] varied a lot, however a selection of results in 30 Russian regions makes it possible to see certain tendencies. Leonid Smirnyagin, head of the regional problems department at the Analytical Directorate under the Russian president, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS today that the picture is more or less the same in all these regions: the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] are in the lead with a considerable gap; and Women of Russia, Yabloko, Russia Is Our Home, and, a surprise for many people, Svyatoslav Fedorov's Party of Workers' Self-Government [PWSG] have passed the five-percent threshold.

Smirnyagin said that the selection had been compiled on the basis of the preliminary voting results in the Far East, Siberia, and the European part of Russia, in particular, in Kaluga, Kalmykia, and Tatarstan. Its analysis shows that the LDPR, in spite of a certain success, will not be able to repeat its result in the 1993 elections when 23 percent of the electorate voted for the liberal democrats. According to Smirnyagin, it looks as if part of the LDPR's previous electorate this time supported the Congress of Russian Communities which nevertheless — and this was yet another surprise of the present voting — on average will not overcome the five percent barrier in these 30 regions.

Smirnyagin also noted that the Democratic Choice of Russia - United Democrats bloc has still not reached the five percent mark, with only 2.5 percent of voters expressing this preference. From one to two percent of votes have gone to Ivan Rybkin's Bloc.

The expert from the Analytical Directorate under the Russian president indicated that the data he had quoted could undergo significant changes. In particular, the share of votes for the PWSG will shrink, and is unlikely at the end of the day to break the five percent barrier. At the same time, following the summing up of election results in the black-earth regions of central Russia, the

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number of votes for the Agrarian Party will grow, and as a result the party may enter the Duma. In this respect the total number of parties which will be able to breach the five percent mark will remain the same, and there will most likely be six of them, just as the analysts forecast.

Overall, Smirnyagin thinks that the results of the State Duma elections cannot be considered unexpected, since their initial results are well within what had been predicted.

Poll Projects Possible Distribution of Duma Seats

LD1812121895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1037 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — If the Russia is Our Home public political movement keeps the 10 percent of votes suggested by preliminary election results, it can rely on 41 seats in Russia's State Duma based on party lists, leader of the independent public opinion poll service Vox Populi Boris Grushin told Interfax.

According to preliminary analysis of this service, pro-communist parties can rely on approximately 140 seats in the State Duma and centrist and democratic blocs, including the Russia is Our Home movement, the Yabloko and Democratic Choice of Russia movements, on 142 seats.

"Patriotic forces" will receive 85 seats, Russia's Women - 33 seats and independent candidates - about 50 seats in line with the prognosis.

Poll Results Will Not Imperil Chernomyrdin

MM1512155495 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Vasiliy Kononenko: "Regardless of the Results 17 December the Chernomyrdin Cabinet Will Survive"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite the fierce election battles, an Olympian calm reigns in the Kremlin. Even the unconcealed intentions of the Communists, like those of "Yabloko" leader G. Yavlinskiy, to change the composition of the cabinet of ministers if they are successful in the 17 December elections have not caused special alarm.

Long before the election marathon entered the home straight, the president's experts and analysts came to the conclusion it will be impossible to form a parliamentary majority in the new State Duma and therefore the president will be able to view the results of the nationwide vote as he feels fit. In other words, he can take account of the powerful factions' demands for ministerial portfolios or he can ignore them.

As is well known, after the 1993 election results the president agreed to a cosmetic change in the composition of the government. It was mainly the Gaydarites who left and the proteges of the Communists, the Agrarians, and the centrists who came in. But, despite the persistent attempts by V. Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the largest Duma faction, to "grab" some portfolios for his party, B. Yeltsin completely ignored his demands. Why? M. Krasnov, the president's legal aide, explained in conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent that the current constitution does not provide for the automatic formation of a government on the basis of the parliamentary majority (that norm is very widespread in the constitutions of many developed states). The results of parliamentary elections are taken into account to some extent in the formation of the new cabinet of ministers, but that is a different matter. This is done for the purpose of avoiding constant "voting" ["votirovaniye"] — the submission by parliament of votes of confidence in the government and the blocking of draft laws put forward by the executive. In our conditions, M. Krasnov noted, when the replacement of the cabinet of ministers means not an adjustment to but a drastic change of policy, the president is entitled to ignore the demands of the contenders for key ministerial posts. And the head of state has sufficient powers to do that.

Under the Constitution only he has the right to form the cabinet of ministers and propose a nominee for the premiership. He can also block the passage of laws which contravene the spirit of the Constitution. Finally, the president has so-called "latent" powers stemming from Article 80 of the fundamental law, whereby the head of state is guarantor of the Constitution. These powers are not a legal basis for a decision of the Constitutional Court but are taken into account in the examination of disputes between the branches of power. To sum up, it may be said with confidence that if the Duma factions demand a change of government this will have no impact, M. Krasnov stressed.

This confidence on the part of the president's legal aide is not solely based on his interpretation of constitutional norms but also on his knowledge of the presidential team's real intentions and actions, not to say those of the president himself. No one in the president's entourage now doubts that V. Chernomyrdin will keep the premiership for the next six months — until the 1996 presidential elections — regardless of the results of the 17 December vote. At the same time my interlocutor cited the following arguments. First and foremost, there are no signs of a repeat of the "Zhirinovskiy phenomenon" in the coming elections — even the Communists will not be able to put a considerable

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distance between themselves and their rivals in terms of the number of seats gained. Second, even if "left-wingers" succeed in forming a coalition that claims to hold the majority in the parliament, the president will not give them the premiership since they refuse to sign the civil accord pact and guarantee the continuation of the reform course. Third, the Communists themselves will hardly want to demand conditions for the formation of a so-called "government of people's confidence." It is after all obvious that the life of such a government would not extend beyond the date of the presidential elections. That is why the tactic of attacking the government is preferable for all opponents of the current reform course involved in the presidential election campaign.

Both political scientists and professional analysts are saying that such attacks will immediately follow once Duma structures have been formed. M. Urnov, head of the Presidential Staff's Analysis Administration, said in conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent that "no-confidence votes in V. Chernomyrdin's cabinet will in all probability become cyclical in nature since neither the opposition nor other potential presidential contenders have any more appealing way of campaigning for votes."

If this forecast is correct, it gives rise to another important conclusion: The president will nonetheless have to surrender some government portfolios in order to avoid a political crisis. There are not only rumors but also facts attesting to turn of events. As for the rumors, they focus on the imminent departure of Vice Premiers S. Shakhray and A. Zaveryukha. It is these posts that should be given to representatives of the main Duma factions in the new State Duma. As for facts, according to informed sources, shortly after the elections V. Chernomyrdin will submit to the president a new government structure presupposing the abolition of over 10 state and departmental committees along with certain ministries. Some kind of superministry of industry and trade with political as well as managerial functions may be formed as a result. It is intended that personnel and structural changes in the government will be implemented in January. The president is expected at the same time to sign an edict on the new structure of his staff, which is being organized to perform the tasks of his election campaign.

Communist Victory Said To Mean 'Disaster'

MM1512170395 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Dec 95 p 3

[Article by Andrey Kolesnikov under "Anti-Utopia" rubric: "If the Reds Come. A Second Large-Scale Redistribution of Property Will Be a Disaster"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brezhnev's mother traveled to Moscow to visit her son. On seeing his apartments full of expensive things and servants and his garages, she burst into tears: "Oh, Lenechka, my little son! What will happen to us if the Reds come again?!" (A joke from the early seventies.)

A capitalist revolution has been accomplished economically, politically, and psychologically. The country is on the brink of a period of stabilization, but the "removal of injustice" in privatization, apart from the fact that it could become the linchpin of the left-wing nationalist forces' whole election campaign, is capable of bringing down Russia's economy if it is put into practice.

Everyone remembers how the stock index reacted to merely verbal statements by Vladimir Polevanov, then chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property. It seems that it is possible to put together an entire political movement on the idea of nationalization (after passing through several reincarnations, Polevanov ended up heading a movement with a characteristic name — "For the Motherland," in the sense of being against the "sell-off of the motherland," a slightly less obvious allusion being "For Stalin!").

"Why are you uniting with the national patriots, since, according to the logic of things, you and they have different ideologies?" the author of these lines once asked Gennadiy Zyuganov. "When the communal home is burning, everyone trying to put out the fire is with us." The communal home really has caught fire. If it had not caught fire, it would certainly have collapsed — it was in such dire need of repairs and a responsible master....

I recently chatted with an industrial entrepreneur who voiced concern at the fact that someone is changing the present government and its economic priorities as he goes along. Despite all its shortcomings, he remarked, the government has nonetheless set the economic mechanism in motion and formulated its operating rules. Even if the Communists accede to power and decide to nationalize the commercial banks, they will fail completely — on the very first day the bankers will reduce them to a pre-bankrupt state.

Indeed, will the major and considerably smaller bankers of the present day really leave their money to be used

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by the Communists who have acceded to power? Even those who amassed their capital in a profoundly criminal way will at once return these selfsame money bills to the criminal path, admittedly without paying their hit-man acquaintances for the wasted years. Because the money bills will usually end up in accounts in Swiss, German, and other banks, to which the ordinary Russian hit-man does not have access. Not to mention respectable and legal bankers, who, moreover, are concerned about not only the financial but also the physical well-being of their families. An attempt to nationalize "white" bankers will deprive the Russian commodity producer of his last investments, and he will still recall with warm nostalgia those times when commodities were cheerfully dispatched and when, for some reason, no one reproached him for the fact that nobody needed those commodities. The chief thing was that there was the prospect of receiving money at least for some commodity. But now, under the Communists, there will be no money at all. The expropriation of the expropriators is impossible in view of the latter's geographic remoteness.

The existence in the Russian economy of upgraded, i.e. improved, production facilities and enterprises and, consequently, of directors, managers, shareholders, workers, etc. who think in a new way also complicates the position of the patriots and Communists, who intend seriously to appeal to class solidarity and the proletariat's heightened sense of justice. Paradoxical though it may seem, the proletariat is no longer the same. Now it not only knows the words to the effect that "outside management" is capable of saving the plant from ruin. It is prepared to see in practice how an efficient private employer will give it an opportunity to work and at the same time receive a normal wage for it.

As a result of their own victory the Communists risk losing an electorate which, in terms of its degree of activeness and scale, exceeds the electorate of all the other parties, i.e. the pensioners. Communist ideals fade against the background of nonpayment of pensions and social benefits. Any Communist who accedes to power and wishes to familiarize himself with the contents of the state treasury will discover an "abundant absence" of any funds. It is altogether impossible to feed socially unprotected groups of the population by Communist and national patriotic methods, because the sources of budget revenue as such will disappear (see the above story of bankers and entrepreneurs).

What is there to say about the sell-off of Russia? All that is left is the joke: "Is it true that the Jews have sold Russia? Good, but can I have my share?" What would Comrade Zyuganov be able to reply to this?...

Those who have something (in the positive sense) as a result of the reform — whether bankers, directors of enterprises getting on their feet, or, in short, private owners — will never leave their capital, which will be able to raise up the Russian economy, to those who do not know how to handle this property and who can only squander it.

Therefore it will no longer be possible to take private property away by force and share it out. There will be nothing to take away....

Political Commentator Warns Against Wasting Votes

MM1512155095 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA (Weekend Edition) in Russian 15 Dec 95 p 5

[Article by political scientist Aleksey Kiva: "Some Ideas From Well-Known Political Scientist Ahead of Crucial Vote: Elections Take Place the Day After Tomorrow. Whom Will We Choose?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It must be admitted that people have gotten sick of living on the edge of a volcano. They would like stability. They would like the development of events to be more predictable. And to have greater confidence in the future.

However, what they want is not so very much. They want elections — parliamentary or presidential — in our country, as in Germany or Britain, Sweden or Japan, or even in Hungary and Poland now, not to spell new cataclysms of some kind.

But this "not so very much" actually means a very great deal for us. In essence if not in terms of time. When it comes to time I am sure that given another three or four years' development on its chosen course the country will be unrecognizable. As soon as the economic upturn begins — and it will definitely begin, since it is already taking place in Europe's postcommunist countries that embarked on the same path as us, only a little earlier — Russian citizens' prosperity will increase literally before our eyes. And then I think that the confrontation in society will ease, political extremism will fade, and law and order will gain a firm foothold. The change of the political forces in power will also take a civilized course. Because a change of authority will not mean destroying the basis of their lives, people's property will not be seized, they will not be herded into kolkhozes, tagged "enemies of the people," terrorized, subjected to repression, or shot, as happened everywhere after the Communists took power.

What worries me when I think about the 17 December elections?

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First, a number of electoral blocs, including those describing themselves as reformers, are saying that when they enter parliament and form a majority with other factions, they will seek a complete change of economic and political course, a change of the reform model, and even of the model for the sociopolitical system. I consider these intentions not just dangerous, but ruinous for the country. The change of political system in 1917 was followed by catastrophic cataclysms that are still making themselves felt to this day. The collapse of Communism in 1991, which predetermined the breakup of the USSR, on the one hand, rid the country of an antipeople, dead-end system but, on the other, wrecked the lives of millions of people, particularly the elderly, who are having difficulty adapting to market conditions, and plunged the country into crisis.

The people simply may not withstand another dramatic shift in our social development, when the worst is already behind us. Turning back the clock might be to the liking of some members of the older generations, but it would wreck the lives of the most active and lively members of the younger generations. What is more, it would put us back at least 15-20 years, but by no means to the start of Gorbachev's perestroyka in 1985 as some people think. In the event of more upheaval the potential for growth in conditions of a market economy — the only effective kind of economy — that has now been accumulated with such difficulty would be destroyed. It is simply impossible to return to the former cost-based system of economic management based on a military economy. Attempting to turn back would be a supremely stupid act, no, a supreme crime against the people.

Second, Communists and forces close to them are threatening to reprivatize things that have been privatized. During the massive privatization in a vast country like Russia, there have certainly been mistakes, abuse, and sharp practice, which can and must be set to rights. But it would be no exaggeration to say that attempting another mass division of property would mean civil war. And this must be said openly.

Third, a number of blocs' leaders are saying that, if they are victorious in the elections, they will not only try to restore socialism and Soviet power but also denounce the Belovezhskaya agreements and revive the USSR. And the utmost clarity is needed on this point. The denunciation of the Belovezhskaya agreements alone might bring about the collapse of the CIS and the automatic expansion of NATO's sphere of operation, first and foremost through the admission of Ukraine and a number of the other former Soviet republics, not to mention the countries of Eastern Europe. This would soon be followed by Russia's international isolation, including an economic blockade. It is simply stupid to think that we could respond as before by successfully resorting to the policy of confrontation, militarization, or nuclear blackmail. This would mean more exhaustion, degradation, and complete catastrophe for us. One must take a realistic look at Russia's current potential and not forget that the USSR suffered defeat in the Cold War and that its exhaustion in this war in many respects predetermined the collapse of real socialism.

Fourth, there are electoral blocs whose leaders do not verbally go as far as restoring socialism and the USSR but who want to once again impose on us the administrative-edict system, obviously not having a very good idea of what this might mean for us. Namely starvation. And ultimately collapse. It would only take a return to the state monopoly on foreign trade or just on the most important raw material resources (no matter what fine aims are proclaimed when so doing) for shelves in the stores to immediately empty and for us to return to the situation in late 1991 where the country was threatened with starvation. Only then we had an extremely good harvest and massive humanitarian aid.

What conclusions suggest themselves?

Conclusion one. The parliamentary elections must be treated with all seriousness and not considered, as some people are doing, as just a dress rehearsal for the presidential elections. Those political forces that achieve impressive success in these elections will thus prepare a good grounding for themselves in the contest for the presidential post. What is more, the Federal Assembly is by no means a powerless organization, as members of the opposition claim. It is an instrument that can be used to change the country's political system.

Conclusion two. There is no reason today — just as there was none six months or a year ago — to predict a virtually absolute victory for the Communists in the elections and paint the position of reformist forces in tragic colors. Incidentally, public opinion polls, for all their relative significance, give no grounds for this. Provided, of course, they are interpreted properly without lumping together political forces of differing hues and calling them all Communists. Many of our analysts completely lose sight of the fact that half the State Duma deputies are elected in single-seat districts and there will probably be more of them who look to the future rather than to the past. It is still hard to tell whose faction will be the larger — that of the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] or NDR ["Russia Is Our Home"].

Conclusion three: But for all that, anti-reform forces still have a chance of breaking into the legislature and we must realize that too. In the crucial days when voters are deciding who to vote for — and polls indicate that

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many people make that decision literally in the last few days before the election — the mass media simply had a duty to help Russian citizens understand "who is who." Because many blocs, if we are to believe what they say, have similar programs, they are overflowing with promises of a heavenly life, and their names hide rather than reveal the bloc's true nature, with the possible exception of the Beer Lovers' Party.

Given what I have said I would divide all the best-known parties and blocs which have a chance of being represented in the State Duma, into two large groups.

One of them comprises those who want to take us back in one way or another to the administrative-edict system, to the well-known shortages, worthless ration coupons, crazy waiting lines, the country's departure from the world economy again, renewed isolation, and the use of force and coercion, if not terror; they want to rob us of the rights and freedoms that we have all enjoyed for several years now — Communists, nationalists, and democrats included; and some of them even want to take our property away from us as the Bolsheviks once did. These parties and blocs include Gennadiy Zyuganov's CPRF, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, Aleksandr Rutskoy's "Derzhava," Nikolay Ryzhkov's "Power to the People!", and to a certain extent the Stanislav Govorukhin Bloc and Mikhail Lapshin's Agrarian Party. The Congress of Russian Communities is also gravitating toward the administrative-edict model although it stipulates that this model is only needed for a transitional period. The above parties and blocs claim a special path of Russian development, with which the world is as yet unfamiliar. That is a myth, if not downright deception.

The other group of parties and blocs consists of those who — no matter what their leaders may say, as Boris Fedorov or Grigoriy Yavlinskiy are doing — will continue in one way or another the course that we are now following, although they may make fundamental adjustments to that course. They will follow in one way or another the path of development which all mankind follows and which is the only path where real rather than imaginary results are achieved. Like in Japan or Germany. Like in Sweden or Denmark. Because there is simply no other route to well-being and prosperity. And this is graphically demonstrated for us by the backward countries of yesteryear like South Korea, for instance, whose rate of growth (and prosperity) exceeded several times the rate of growth in the countries of real socialism.

The parties and blocs in this group include Viktor Chernomyrdin's NDR, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's "Yabloko," the "Ivan Rybkin Bloc," Yegor Gaydar's "Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats," Boris Fedorov's "Forward, Russia!" and certain others.

Conclusion four. We must also honestly tell Russian citizens that the election law adopted by the State Duma is very imperfect. Borrowed from other, Western countries, it fails to take account of the fact that in our country party organizational development has only just begun, as indicated by the fact that 43 electoral blocs are participating in the elections. And that means among other things that the wishes of many voters will be ignored, since their votes will not go to the blocs they vote for. After all, even in purely theoretical terms only 20 blocs can clear the 5-percent hurdle, and in actual fact the number doing so will be one-half or even one-third of that figure.

In the light of this one must be aware of the following. If those of us who in theory advocate reforms and do not want to turn back onto the road to nowhere vote for their favorite bloc, which is, however, little known or not very influential and in practice has little chance of getting into parliament on the party lists, or else its chances are known to be zero like most of the 43 blocs, they will not necessarily be voting for reform. They will be adding their votes to the votes of the Communists, the "Zhirinovskiyites," etc. So, is it not better — faced with this grim reality and mindful that we are not fully guaranteed against revenge and attempts to restore an antidemocratic system and the lifeless, inefficient state economy — to vote for those reformist blocs that will probably get into the parliament? Let me tell you a secret: Many of my friends who voted for "Russia's Choice" last time have decided not to take the risk this time and will vote for the NDR. There are also those among them who could with every justification be called liberal democrats. And, moreover, some who admitted that they voted for Zhirinovskiy in the last election.

Conclusion five. These parliamentary elections may be the most serious test of our maturity in the years since the beginning of perestroyka. First and foremost of our public and political maturity. But also of our spiritual and ethical maturity. A test of our readiness to live in democratic conditions and play by the rules of democracy. What do I mean? Will the leaders of those parties and blocs which by every indication will not get into parliament be responsible enough to urge their supporters on the eve of the elections to vote for the most influential reformist blocs?

I am not afraid to be specific. The parties that I would urge to do this are the "'89' (89 Regions of Russia)" bloc led by its coordinators Pavel Medvedev and Vadim (Zheltsin?), the Party of Russian Unity and Accord led by Sergey Shakhray, "Transformation of the Fatherland"

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led by Eduard Rossel, the "Stable Russia" and "Duma-96" movements, and the "Interethnic Union" bloc. And perhaps "Common Cause" led by Irina Khakamada. This is precisely in the interests of the common cause. And even Boris Fedorov's "Forward, Russia!" if his chances of failure finally become clear. Bluffing, Zhirinovskiy-style, is all very well, but only if it works toward success. And in this case success means the continuation of the reforms that he [Fedorov] began with Gaydar.

And another point. If we uphold the historical approach and ultimately consider it inevitable for "right-wingers" ("drastic market reformers," market monetarists, etc) to be replaced in power by "left-wingers," or rather social democrats, as in Europe's postcommunist countries, we must work toward that. And do so now. In order to ensure that the social democrats' place in our country is not taken by the Communists, whose leaders are evolving more toward arrant nationalism and national bolshevism than social democracy. Euphemisms are inappropriate here, we must call things by their names.

But what does "work" mean? Try to create a powerful faction of social democrats and politicians close to social democracy in parliament.

But it is quite obvious that virtually all the blocs waving the social democratic banner will not get into the State Duma on the party lists. The Ivan Rybkin bloc has the greatest chance in this respect. In this case elementary political pragmatism suggests that efforts should be pooled around the bloc of the leader capable of forming a powerful social democratic movement.

Therefore it would be a great boon for the development of Russian social democracy — and at the same time for advancing the cause of reform and democracy and consolidating the irreversible nature of these phenomena — if the leaders in question were to cast aside ambition, short-term considerations, and possibly mutual bones of contention, grievances, etc., and urge their supporters too to vote, to put it crudely, for the favorite. No offense meant, but the "Social Democrats" led by Gavriil Popov have zero chance of getting in on the party lists. The "Pamfilova-Gurov-Vladimir Lysenko (Republican Party of the Russian Federation)" bloc has virtually no prospects. And blocs like "My Fatherland" and "Trade Unions and Industrialists of Russia-Union of Labor," which were recently part of Rybkin's bloc, have slim chances. If the Agrarian Party fails in the elections, the votes of those who can be considered supporters of social democracy will also be lost. There are some of those in the Agrarian Party.

But there are also a number of other blocs which do not espouse the same line as the reactionaries but which have remained on their own and will be forced to surrender their votes to others, including the reactionaries. I am referring to the "Kedr" Ecological Party of Russia, for instance.

So both the voters and the blocs and parties should, so to speak, ponder the matter. And if we have enough common sense and responsibility, we will not miscalculate. But if not, once again, no one can blame us. It means that we are not mature enough for democracy and we have no one to reproach.

Ryzhkov Says Elections Should Lead to Reshuffle

LD1712154495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (Interfax) — The Russian parliament elections, to be won by the left-wing forces and lost by the so-called democrats, should result in a government reshuff , leader of the "Power to People" election bloc and ex-Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov told an exclusive Interfax interview Sunday.

"Bearing in mind drastic changes in the balance of political forces, the president, the guarantor of the Constitution, prematurely insists on Chernomyrdin heading the new government," said Ryzhkov.

In his opinion, the cabinet membership will result only from the balance of political forces in the new parliament.

Ryzhkov said he is sure that his bloc will overcome the 5 percent barrier and win deputy mandates. Together with the factions of the Russian Communist Party (of Gennadiy Zyuganov) and the Agrarian Party of Russia (of Mikhail Lapshin), the bloc deputies plan to form a "strong left-centrist parliament bloc in the new Duma," said Ryzhkov.

Deputies of the Rybkin bloc "will hardly participate in this coalition, because their leader fully discredited himself in the election campaign," he noted.

Gorbachev Says Communist Victory Not 'a Reversal'

LD1712154295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (Interfax) — Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev says there is no threat of a reversal to the past even if the Russian Communist Party wins a majority in the Sunday [17 December] election, Gorbachev told Russian and foreign reporters at a polling station in Moscow.

He said "the Communists are not what they were" and a large part of the Russian Communist Party (CPRF)

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and its leader Gennadiy Zyuganov were close to Social Democrats. More importantly, he said, the people are in favor of reforms and certain social security guarantees, but not a policy change.

The former Soviet president believes that any winning party, even one enlisting more than 50 percent support, will have to reckon with changes that have taken place in recent years.

On prospects for the Communist Party, Gorbachev thinks even if it wins the vote, the party will try to build on its electoral success in the run up to next year's presidential poll.

Gorbachev also believes the Communists will not seek the post of prime minister because of what he called backstage negotiations between the party and incumbent prime minister.

However, he suggested that the Communists must be given a chance of taking charge of the government. "Let them start fulfilling their promises and much will become clearer then."

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 16 Dec

LD1612074395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0547 GMT 16 Dec 95

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 12 (ITAR-TASS) — Newspapers carry information on the coming elections to the State Duma (Russian parliament lower house) on Sunday. The ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA and ROSSIISKIE VESTI newspapers feature the full text of President Boris Yeltsin's address to the country's citizens.

Under the title "Irrespective of the December 17 results, Chernomyrdin's cabinet will hold out", the IZVESTIYA newspaper runs an article noting that Yeltsin's aides do not doubt: Viktor Chernomyrdin will retain his premier's post for the next six months — till the presidential elections of 1996, irrespective of the December 17 polls.

Referring to information from reliable sources, the daily states that soon after the elections, Chernomyrdin will submit to the president a new structure of the cabinet, presupposing the disbandment of over a dozen of government and departmental committees as well as some ministries.

"They will be used as a basis for forming a new superministry of industry and trade, possessing both executive and political functions in this sphere. It is supposed that personnel and structural changes in the government will be made in January.

"It is also expected that the president will simultaneously sign a decree on a new structure of his administration which will be streamlined in conformity with his election campaign's tasks," the newspaper writes.

The army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA claims that the results of the first day of the elections of republican head and candidates to the State Duma in Chechnya refuted forecasts of sceptics that Chechen people would not go to the polls.

"No matter what Russian and Russian-Chechen officials say that the elections are in progress in the greater part of the Chechen Republic and will, evidently, be carried out, one thing is clear: No elections should be held during warfare," the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA notes.

The KOMSOMOLSAYA PRAVDA newspaper draws a conclusion in a report from Chechnya that "all these democratic elections, untimely thought-out by somebody, push and herd us to the nightmare of a new bloodbath".

IZVESTIYA runs an article from Chechnya headlined "They vote to the accompaniment of submachine-gun bursts".

The same newspaper writes again about the so-called grain affair which was earlier discussed by the daily in its reports from the Vologda region situated about 200 miles north of Moscow.

They expose misuses by the regional administration, including governor Nikolay Podgornov, of a purpose-oriented credit appropriated by the federal budget for grain purchase.

President Boris Yeltsin asked a special commission of his office and the Russian Prosecutor-General's Office to investigate the case.

Head of the president's office Sergei Filatov sent a letter to the editorial board on the results of the commission's work.

The daily prints the letter but with its own commentary. It challenges the findings of the Finance Ministry which did not find any embezzlement of state property in actions of the regional administration.

The PRAVDA newspaper features an interview with President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev where he estimates the Belovezhskaya decisioins (Eds: heads of state of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine met in the Belovezhskaya Forest, Belarus, and announced that the Soviet Union did not exist any more) of December 1991.

In Nazarbayev's opinion, "the collapse of the country (Eds: the Soviet Union) started not in December 1991 but much earlier: with the collapse and degradation of our economy. I know this not by hearsay but as a member of the former union government.

"It started when feeble old men were at the helm of the state and when the supporting framework was disintegrating — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in connection with the separation of the Russian Communist Party," the Kazakh president claimed.

IZVESTIYA, TRUD, PRAVDA and ROSSIISKIE VESTI publish articles devoted to the 80th birthday of outstanding Russian composer Georgiy Sviridov.

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Belgrade Attache Denies Mladic Offered Asylum

LD1712190095 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] (Viktor Shipilov), Russian military attache in Belgrade, has denied THE SUNDAY TIMES report claiming that he had offered General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Bosnian Serb troops, political asylum in Russia and guarantees of a post of lecturer in one of our military academies. In an interview to RIA, he described such reports as a blatant lie. Moreover, Shipilov added, General Mladic himself stated unequivocally that he has no plans to seek political asylum anywhere. [passage omitted]

Kozyrev Denies Asylum Offer to Mladic

LD1712130195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on Sunday [17 December] denied Moscow was willing to give political asylum to Bosnian Serb commander-in-chief Gen. Ratko Mladic.

"Unless the mass media have distorted the meaning of a statement by the Russian military attache in Belgrade, who said this was a possibility, that is his personal point of view which does not reflect the official position of the Russian Federation," Kozyrev told reporters at one of Moscow's polling stations.

Russian Peacekeepers To Go to Bosnia 18 Dec

LD1612162495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1413 GMT 16 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 16 (INTERFAX) — An official representative of the Russian Defense Ministry told INTERFAX today that the first group of Russian peacekeepers, including 12 officers, would go to Bosnia on December 18, Monday.

This will be a reconnaissance group of the Paratrooper Troops' headquarters, the official said. The group will be led by Deputy Commander of the Russian Paratrooper Troops, Major General Nikolay Staskov.

The group's tasks will include coordinating the area for deployment of a Russian peacekeeping brigade which will take part in the operation of multi-national forces in the Balkans.

The official said the group would also have to set up an air-traffic control service at the Tuzla aerodrome and determine the routes for the Russian peacekeeping brigade moving to the area of its responsibility.

The Russian peacekeeping brigade will be deployed on Bosnian Serb territory to the east of the Posavin corridor. The Russian peacekeepers will interact with the U.S. First Tank Division.

The Russian peacekeeping brigade was created on the basis of the 106th paratrooper division, the official said.

Yeltsin: Peacekeeping Contingent May Be Increased

LD1712125695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — The contingent of Russian troops to be deployed in Bosnia may be somewhat increased, but only for peace-keeping purposes, President Yeltsin declared after voting at elections to the State Duma at the Barvikha sanatorium today.

Commenting on events in Yugoslavia, Yeltsin pledged to vote at the U.N. Security Council for the measures envisaged by the Paris accords.

"Russia has taken an active part in this process, and, as all have seen, has not been aloof from it," Yeltsin said.

Grachev: Force May Be Needed To Implement Bosnia Accords

LD1512144995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 15 (INTERFAX) — Russia's Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said that many problems may arise during the implementation of the multinational operation in Bosnia.

"It's not ruled out that extremists will be trying to foil the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement," he told journalists in Moscow Friday.

He said that "complications" might begin at the initial stage of the multinational operation, when the units will be moving to their bases.

"Given this, in some regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina the multinational contingents might have to use force to ensure the implementation of the Dayton agreement," he said.

He stated that the Russian brigade would act "east of the Posavina corridor and will be mostly stationed in the Bosnian Serbs' territory."

The Russian contingent will act in conjunction with the United States' First Tank Division, which will be located directly in the Posavina corridor, in front of the Russian units and in the territory of the Muslim-Croat Federation.

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Grachev announced that before the Russian brigade is sent to the Balkans, a reconnaissance rear group will go to Bosnia to tackle the problems of the Russian servicemen's accommodation and establish contacts with other units.

Grachev said that the Russian brigade, established on the basis of the 106th airborne division, was undergoing training in the city of Ivanovo, northeast of Moscow.

Karasin Satisfied with UN Resolution on Bosnia Accord

LD1712190195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1847 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By Yuriy Kozlov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 17 (ITAR-TASS) — The U.N. Security Council's recent resolution on the implementation of the Paris peace accords on Bosnia corresponds to Russia's stance, Russian Foreign Ministry senior spokesman Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing today.

He said it is essential for Russia that the resolution covers both military and civilian aspects of the peace operation in Bosnia- Herzegovina.

Also of importance for Russia is the fact that the multinational peace implementation force will act within limits to which the Bosnian parties and leaders of Balkan states consented, Karasin said.

He stressed that the resolution calls for equal say of parties to the conflict in the settlement.

As for the duration of the peace operation, Russia always advocated effective control by the U.N. Security Council in the region and wanted "prerogatives of the (Security) Council in no way to be substituted by the NATO structure", Karasin continued.

He voiced satisfaction that with one year of the peace-keeping mandate elapsed, "just the Security Council, not NATO or some other regional organisation will make a decision on extension of powers of the multinational force for further conduction of the operation".

Karasin quoted emphasis of the Russian delegation to the Security Council on political facets of the settlement in Bosnia and complete lifting of the sanctions against the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia.

The ministry spokesman stressed that the Security Council's resolution, adopted in intense diplomatic debates, have put the Dayton peace accords into the practical plane, opening the way to the peace operation in Bosnia.

Karasin on Former Yugoslavia Disarmament Conference

LD1812095995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0952 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By Viktor Khrekov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (ITAR-TASS) — A conference opening in Bonn on Monday [18 December] to work out measures for stabilisation, confidence-building and control over arms for former Yugoslavia may become an important initial step to consolidate the results of the political settlement. Grigoriy Karasin, the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman, told this to ITAR-TASS in Moscow. He noted the importance of shaping a situation in the military area that would serve consolidating peace, stability and confidence-building in the region.

"We believe specific measures should be worked out on a basis of such fundamental principles as the quality of the sides and equal security, voluntary assumption of obligations and the need for their strict observance, and restraint in the military area," Karasin said.

The talks in Bonn, in which Russia is represented by First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov will be phased and will begin with working out priority measures for stabilisation, Karasin said. These measures will help impart stability to the military aspect of the Paris peace process and will create an atmosphere of greater confidence in which, in Karasin's opinion, "it would be much easier to seek a balance of forces suiting security of all the parties". "And this will make it possible to expand the negotiations framework and comprise entire south-east Europe."

Countries of the Contact Group, including Russia, are to play an important role at the talks, Karasin said. It is also important to ensure considerable role for OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], not only in the talks but also in fulfilling future agreements.

"Russia also believes that a success of the settlement is largely determined by the readiness of the sides to keep from building up their military potentials," Karasin said.

Duma's Bezborodov on Russia's Role in Balkans

LD1512132395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1259 GMT 15 Dec 95

[By Anatoliy Yurkin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 15 (ITAR-TASS) — The peace treaty on the Bosnian settlement signed in the Elysee Palace on Thursday is

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a major step toward settling the bloodletting conflict in the Balkans, believes Major-General of the airforce Nikolay Bezborodov, Deputy Chairman of the Russian State Duma Defence Committee. Peoples of former Yugoslavia underwent severe hardships and will treasure peace, he told ITAR-TASS on Friday.

Russia's stance at the signing of the peace pact in Paris about the suspension of sanctions on former Yugoslavia deserves special attention as it reflects the policy of the Russian state in the Balkans and suits Russian national interests. The implementation of Moscow's proposals will be of great importance for the political aspect of the peace process and restoration of the region's economy.

The signing of the treaty puts responsibility not only on the conflicting sides but also on Russia and other states participating in the settlement of the conflict. "It is precisely their willpower that will make it possible to overcome the aftermaths of the war on condition that the world community will be unbiased regarding all parties in the conflict. Moreover, life in the Balkans shows that power methods alone cannot bring peace to that European district," Bezborodov said.

People in the Balkans closely watch Russia's steps and wait to see what will be its contribution to fulfilling the peacemaking operation, Bezborodov said. Taking into account the experience of cooperation it is possible to hope that traditional age-old friendship of Slavic peoples will be growing stronger. Serbs and other people will come to fully appreciate Russia's role in settling the conflict if it continues to pursue a well-considered balanced policy in its relations with the countries formed in the territory of former Yugoslavia without making preferences, Bezborodov said.

Ukrainian Peacekeepers Cooperate With France

MM1812092795 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Grigoriy Nesmyanovich: "Farther From NATO Means Closer to France"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ukraine, which, like Russia, has made clear to NATO that it would not wish to have its peacekeeping forces under direct NATO command, seems to have definitely embarked on a course of cooperation with the French peacekeeping forces. France, as is well known, is not part of the alliance's military organization and therefore the 240th Battalion's continuing presence in the French sector on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina suits the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. Moreover, this now involves new functions for the Ukrainian peacekeepers in defusing the conflict. They will now be in charge of questions concerning the transporting of humanitarian supplies and aid to the stricken population. Incidentally, it is precisely these tasks which the Ukrainian military has rehearsed most often of late during the exercises conducted as part of the Partnership for Peace program.

Military Officer Discusses Reasons for SU-27 Crash

LD1612165295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1413 GMT 16 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 16 (INTERFAX) — The main headquarters of the Russian Military Air Forces told INTERFAX today that a group searching for three Russian Sukhoi-27 planes was currently moving towards the area where the planes had crashed in Vietnam.

A MI-8 helicopter is guiding the group through the jungle.

Chief of the Russian Military Air Forces' Central Command, Maj. Gen. Dmitriy Gavrilov said the helicopter could not land in the area of the air crash but could take the group on board by rope. Fog covered the area of the air crash in the afternoon.

The operation was suspended at 2:00 p.m. Moscow time after darkness fell. The search group is now in 4 kilometers away from the scene of the air crash. The operation will continue Sunday morning, Gavrilov said.

Gavrilov said the remains of the planes, which had crashed on December 12, had been discovered Saturday at around 7:00 a.m. Moscow time in 22 kilometers to the south of the Cam Ranh aerodrome, Vietnam. A helicopter firstly discovered a parachute hanging on a tree and then saw the remains of the planes. The fate of the planes' four pilots remains unknown.

According to updated information, the brake parachute belongs to one of the three planes and is likely to have opened when the plane crashed into land.

Gavrilov said that when landing the three planes had turned only for 20 degrees instead of the required 90 degrees. The group included six planes: a military-transport Ilyushin-76 led five Sukhoi-27 fighters.

Gavrilov said the responsible for the air crash had not so far been revealed. No criminal case has so far been instigated, he said. The issue will be clarified after experts examine the planes' "black boxes." Leading Russian aviation experts headed by Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Military Air Forces, Col. Gen. Viktor Kot are now in Vietnam.

Various causes could provoke the air crash, Gavrilov said. In particular, the three Sukhoi-27 planes could have run into mountains, land or collide with each

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other. The air crash could also have been caused by an explosion of one of the planes.

Gavrilov said none of the three Sukhoi-27 planes had carried secret units. He said the planes were intended only for the air show. The planes will remain where they crashed. Only equipment necessary for the investigation will be evacuated, including the control equipment and the "black boxes."

The three Sukhoi-27 fighters were returning from Malaysia, where they participated in the LIMA-95 international air show, to Russia within a six-plane group. The three planes crashed when preparing for landing in Cam Ranh. The rest of the group — the Ilyushin-76 plane and another two Sukhoi-27 fighters — landed safely.

The three crashed planes were driven by four pilots of the elite Russkiye Vityazi (Russian Heroes) group.

Vietnamese Military Report Pilots' Death

LD1712131895 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to preliminary information, the four Russian pilots who had an accident in Vietnam, are dead. This was reported to ITAR-TASS by Vietnamese military experts from the headquarters of the search operation.

Grachev's Talks With Norwegian Counterpart Detailed

MM1512164995 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Vadim Markushin: "From the Russian Federation Defense Ministry: In a Spirit of Mutual Interest"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Norwegian Defense Minister Jorgen Kosmo, who is in Moscow on an official visit, has met with Russian Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev. During their conversation, which was begun in the presence of journalists, the heads of the two states' military departments expressed their mutual interest in strengthening Russian-Norwegian ties.

Jorgen Kosmo stressed the special importance of personal contacts between top leaders, which help establish a relationship of trust. "We must afford greater opportunity for cooperation at the level of the main directorates of Russia's Northern Fleet and the forces of Northern Norway," he said. In the Norwegian minister's opinion, joint efforts are essential in this region not only to ensure military security but to protect natural resources, ensure compliance with fishing regulations, and eliminate the consequences of military activity.

Pavel Grachev stated that the problems and prospects of Russian-Norwegian relations, progress in implementing the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, the Bosnian question, peacemaking activity, cooperation in northern Europe, and NATO expansion are being examined during the talks. It is planned to sign two agreements Friday [15 December]: One on cooperation in the defense sector, the other on cooperation in protecting the environment.

Agreement Signed on Tumannaya River Basin Development

MM1812113895 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA (Departmental Supplement) in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Another Hong Kong on Tumannaya River?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Government representatives from Russia, China, the DPRK, the ROK, and Mongolia have signed three agreements at the United Nations on promoting the economic development of the Tumannaya River basin in Northeast Asia.

This is a 20-year plan, the idea for which emerged in the early nineties. It envisages the comprehensive economic and social development of a zone with a population of 300 million people where the borders of the PRC, the Russian Federation, and the DPRK meet, in particular the creation of a modern infrastructure and a power generation base. The cost of the project, which is being implemented under the auspices of the UN Development Program, is estimated at $30 billion. It is envisaged that the zone will have flexible borders, and neighboring regions may also take part in the joint exploration of the area.

Term Extended for Indonesia To Repay Debts in Goods

MM1812100495 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Monitoring Government Decisions": "Cooperation. Indonesia Will Pay Its Debts in Goods"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A decision has been adopted to extend the delivery of Indonesian goods for the purpose of repaying Indonesia's debts under state credits granted to it earlier by the former USSR. Letters exchanged between the sides provide for the repayment of Indonesia's debts in goods to the total sum of U.S. $125.7 million, including the interest accrued. The period for the delivery of goods under consolidated obligations has been extended to 1 July 1996.

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Political Issues

Yeltsin Addresses Nation on Elections

LD1512173295 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Dec 95

[Address to the nation by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin at Barvikha Spa on 14 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Good afternoon, esteemed Russians: In one day, on December 17, there are elections of the deputies to the State Duma. On the eve of the elections I would like to share my thoughts with you. The upcoming event is no longer a formal vote which we were taught to accept in the past decades and when the results were known to everybody in advance.

These are true elections today. I am attentively following the course of the election campaign. Dozens of parties and movements want to get into the State Duma. There are an enormous number of candidates for each deputy's seat. And many of them really want to help Russia. They have interesting, business-like proposals and major ideas of the state scope.

At the same time, I cannot accept everything that has been voiced. Unfortunately, some candidates have told the voters: everything is wrong, everything is bad. Elect me and the situation will then change for the better and all problems will be solved: the problems of the army [will be solved], plants will begin to work at full capacity, calm and well-being will come to every home. Promises, promises, promises...

What can I say? This is probably natural. There will always be people who would like to get a seat in the Duma at all costs. I have met such people. It is very easy to promise much and make people like you. But you and I know that everything can go smoothly only on paper. It is most dangerous when representatives of certain parties want to take the country to the past. It is possible that they sincerely believe that such is the only correct way out. However, I am sure that this is a tragic mistake.

We have been travelling the path that they want to take us back to, for over 70 years. This is enough to make a conclusion. So what? Did we really have a better life than in other countries? No!

The country failed even to come close to the living standards of developed states, including those whose economy, like ours, was ruined in the years of war. It is impossible to argue with that.

Why then are there many people today who look at the past with nostalgia? It is because our young age, love and personal honest labor are there. The experience of very many years, of several generations, makes us acknowledge the following: There will be no salvation either in the planned economy, or in tough control over prices. An economy can never be made to work properly by commands and will not work. It cannot be boosted by a general's order either.

We will never get rid of need, if, like it was in the past, the free ownership of land is banned and property is reshared anew. What and who would gain from such a bloody redistribution?

Dear electors: The aggravation of relations with our neighbors, even for the sake of restoring the former Soviet Union, will become a tragedy. And it was these ideas that were voiced during the election campaign by representatives of a number of parties, blocs, and candidates well known to you. This is not the light at the end of the tunnel for Russia. Rather it is a reflection of new and even more horrible fires of a civil war.

Let us think: Will it be better if we are again divided by hostility, anger, and hatred? Will it be beneficial? No and no once again. What can be more dangerous when, in the middle of a ford, some are pulling back, others to the left and others to the right? Beware: Russia could be overturned again.

Our country needs no revolutions. That's enough for attempts to start the life anew, from a blank sheet. Russia needs sufficiency, quietness, and order.

I know that Russian voters sympathize with those parties, blocs, and movements that have moderate positions, real goals, and the methods of their implementation rule out extreme means and adventures. I like such a position! We have been learning to live in new conditions only for five years. And we have already learned something. Although the studies do not go very easily. Life is difficult so far.

These are the difficulties which are borne by pensioners, the military, the workers of defense branches of industry, the Russian intelligentsia, and others. This is also the crime rate and the corruption among many state officials. This is also the problems of millions of people who have entrusted their savings to financial swindlers.

I am well aware of the scope of the problems. But I also know what efforts have to be made to overcome these difficulties. Still we are moving toward a quieter, normal, and decent life.

Some work has already been done. With great difficulty the cooperation between the president, the government, and the parliament has been launched. This is a real achievement of the last two years.

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You must agree that it should be preserved and strengthened. It is precisely this that allows us to build our Russian home today, to gradually solve numerous problems. And believe me, it can't be done faster. Let us together preserve the so far fragile stability which we have achieved with such a big effort, as well as accord in our common home — Russia.

Esteemed fellow citizens! Today I want to address those who have not made their choice yet, those who believe that nothing depends on them, as voters, like it was before. I cannot agree with such moods, both as the president and as a Russian citizen. I am addressing my young compatriots. The older generation did not have the possibility to choose their own way of living and thinking. Other people decided for us. Those who did not obey had it very hard. Times have changed. You, young people, have the right to decide your destiny for yourselves. But, for this, it is necessary for you to come to the polls.

If you fail to turn out, your indifference will vote for a return to the past. And you yourselves will have to pay for this first of all, you, who are young now.

You must not allow the forces of the past to seize power again. You should not allow the country to be taken back to the time when everyone was told what to think, what clothes to wear, which hairdo to have, and what songs to sing. All this brings to mind a popular saying: We value little what we have but bemoan the loss of it. Freedom is what we have. It is like air. You do not notice it when you have it. But its absence will be immediately felt.

Today, life itself insistently asks every young person: What Russia do you want for yourself and your children? I do not believe that you do not care! For this reason, come to the polling stations, come with your friends.

Cast your ballots yourselves! Cast your ballots for yourselves!

Your whole life lies ahead. And I very much want your life to be happier than that of our generation.

I am addressing people of my age, middle-aged and elderly people.

I ask you to remember your mother and your father when you vote. Remember your childhood and adolescence. How many troubles your parents lived through! How many were the dangers they shielded us from and protected us from! It is thanks to them that we remember all the good things we had in the past.

But their own life was very hard. They knew what hunger was like, what real fear was like, and what mass repressions were like. And they did not learn about it from books. Do we wish the same for our grandchildren? May your good sense prompt the correct choice.

I learned recently that the word "candidate" means a person clad in white. In ancient Rome those who aspired to a state office wore white clothes. The white color is a symbol of virtuous intentions.

It is up to you to judge the virtue and integrity of those who seek election, their degree of proficiency and good sense. How well they can strengthen stability and concord in Russia. It is up to you to decide in whom to place your confidence and whom to refuse it to.

Many people feel worked up. But may God protect you against giving in to the sentiments of the moment and quick temper and casting your ballot to spite somebody, and subsequently looking again for somebody to blame for our troubles. It has come to be the case in our country that the president is responsible for everything. And you, dear fellow citizens, judge me severely, sometimes mercilessly. But on 17 December, it is up to you to make your decision. It would be fair if everyone were to be as strict in making demands on themselves on that day. The destiny of Russia is in your hands!

Speech Seen as Anti-Communist Plea

MK1612135795 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Sergey Parkhomenko under the "Authority" rubric: "A Last-Hope Foul. Boris Yeltsin Delivers an Anti-Communist Plea"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Something astonishing has happened. Despite the order of business that has long and firmly been established in the Kremlin, President Yeltsin was briefed on what is actually going on in the country.

He was told that the most likely winner in tomorrow's parliamentary elections will be Zyuganov's Communist Party. He heard the admission that to all appearances the Communists' influence in the Sixth State Duma will not just be considerable, but — in view of their natural alliance with other leftist factions — he should expect the emergence of a formidable (if not large enough to change the Constitution) leftist opposition majority in the new parliament. He was reminded that it will be effectively impossible to dissolve such a Duma, at least within the first year of its existence. He was warned that this means that a Duma dominated by a Communist majority and apparently chaired by Comrade Zyuganov will remain Russia's supreme legislative body throughout the preparations for the 1996 presidential elections, during the election campaign itself, at the moment of the

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June vote per se, and afterward, when its results will be calculated.

In short, he was frankly told everything about how things stand.

This made a strong impression on Boris Nikolayevich.

At any rate, yesterday's presidential television address was made precisely under the influence of this impression. We simply have no other explanations for this speech's obvious merits.

It is not a matter of the speech's particular qualities as a masterpiece of political rhetoric. A group of Kremlin speech writers has, unfortunately, earned Boris Yeltsin a firm reputation as a fairly inept public speaker, leaving by their joint efforts no trace of his polemic talents that went down so well with the Russian voter in 1989-1990. Everything is past: Since then we have gradually become accustomed to something like badly mixed mashed potatoes pouring time and again from the screen — without a clear form, more or less pronounced color, smell, or taste...

All the more visible were the efforts taken by the president and his staff this time to draw up his speech. The difference is particularly striking if Boris Yeltsin's current electoral address is compared to the one he made two days before "Russia went mad" — on 10 December 1993. Unlike that disaster — and that speech was definitely a disaster — the current presidential address meets at least two of the most important criteria set for any statement addressed by a head of state to his people.

First, the listener is left in no doubt as to who precisely is targeted by the address. Those "who have not yet made up their minds" and "those who think that, as before, nothing depends on them as voters." Here two clear "target groups" were singled out: young people with their "I-don't-care-a-fig" attitude, who can probably only be budged by such warnings — lest someone should start telling them "what clothes they must wear, what hairdos they must have, and what songs they must sing;" and also people of advanced age, of whom few indeed, being in their right mind, would wish their grandchildren to find out through their own experience "what real hunger, real fear, and mass repressions are like."

Second, it becomes clear from the very first words why the president is appealing to us. Of course, in order — even if at the eleventh hour — to try to grab something from the Communists.

President Yeltsin's latest speech can with assurance be called the most vivid and cutting anti-communist plea he has made since August 1991. Thus, having renounced the traditional and empty genre of didactic wish-you-well speeches by "the father of the nation," who looks condescendingly at the wrangle of the political small potatoes under his feet, the president finally brought himself to make a statement in which he committed himself as a participant in the electoral fray, who makes no bones about his own stance, his preferences, or his fears. This is the crux of the matter: Yesterday's speech was made by a person who is clearly aware of the fact that his future, too, depends on the 17 December vote.

This is no longer reminiscent at all of assurances heard a few weeks ago that there is "nothing terrible" about the possible dominance of the leftist opposition in parliament. This does not bear even the remotest resemblance to his lukewarm preelectoral reasoning of 1993 to the effect that "any differences can be reconciled" and that the president himself is allegedly "ready for cooperation with deputies regardless of their party affiliations."

Now it turns out that something terrible can occur after all and that people will inevitably show up among the deputies with whom one cannot shake hands.

An example to follow was too fresh in everyone's memory: In 1993 Viktor Chernomyrdin managed to make a long detour to bypass the site of the candidates' showdown — when it was necessary he fled from the elections as far as Valday, and as a result he was rightly recognized as the main winner of the elections, exploiting them to his best political advantage. This time around Boris Yeltsin attempted to repeat the trick: At the start of the electoral campaign he set for himself fully understandable personal rules of the game — to steer clear of the fray at any cost. The rules had been observed for three months. But two days before the denouement they were resolutely and deliberately broken.

The president resorted to what is called in sports "a last-hope foul."

Yet it seems to be too late.

Chernomyrdin Discusses Current Issues

LD1512174195 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1005 GMT 15 Dec 95

[Interview with Viktor Chernomyrdin, Russian prime minister and leader of the Russia is Our Home Bloc, by Yuliy Semenov; place, date not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Semenov] When was it more difficult, when you started out, or now?

[Chernomyrdin] I am happy to say — I have to say, of course, that I seemed to have worked all my life — I

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have been a director, a minister, head of industry, but that seems a long time ago. Reminiscences aside, that's the first thing; the second thing is — when were things harder, and when were they easier? Well, you know, when I began things weren't easy, and now even more so; there have been unexpected things which certainly didn't come into my plans. The president asked me to sort out the fuel-and-power complex, [words indistinct] Otherwise I wouldn't have gotten involved for the life of me. Remember how they forced me, then a minister, to leave the state dacha. This was all meant to humiliate me. That is why I had difficulties at the start as well, but these were other difficulties. Things needed sorting out.

Now difficulties are of a totally different order. God forbid anyone should ever again have to face the many difficulties we have faced. They have been enormous difficulties — to keep hold of the country, of the economy, under any circumstances, and to move it today toward recovery — one has to work hard to achieve this.

On the whole I believe that the government should never have an easy life. I can also say that a leader, and more so — a government leader, should never rejoice at his achievement. This is the end. Either the man has exhausted his resources, or he does not understand what he should do.

[Semenov] My next question is on the elections: Our voters have been virtually inundated by torrents of words. All those seeking a Duma mandate are rushing to promise something or other. You are saying however that your promises are all realistic and that you take responsibility for what you say. How can you confirm this?

[Chernomyrdin] Everyone has two positions: first, to promise and second, to criticize the government. What else is there? As one of them told me today; I have to prove myself in some way, don't I? How would they find out about me? [laughs]. Not a big deal. If you wear three-piece suits, then you are a leader. So he says: What are you upset about? Everybody is doing this. So I say: Right, you are not doing anything, so how can they find out about you? You say: Nobody knows me. And then, God forbid, you'll come to power, they they'll find out about you, and what next? What to do?

So I can only say one thing here, about my attitude to this, and how I perceive this. I am being prompted from all directions, even by some of my close comrades-in-arms: Viktor Stepanovich, please promise something, everybody promises things in all countries in all electoral campaigns.

I can always say that from the new year wages will be go up, taxes will be reduced and pensions will be increased. They will believe me, I think. But this won't be possible to do right away.

[Semenov] Or at least not in full measure...

[Chernomyrdin, interrupting] Not in full measure. We will be increasing pensions and wages, too, but this will be in the future and within the confines of the budget which we have at our disposal...

[Semenov, interrupting] And the one which has been adopted at last...

[Chernomyrdin, interrupting] And which was a big present for me! You understand, we will do all this, but to say something and then not do it — I think that is an awful thing to do. I cannot do that sort of thing, it would be deceitful, and I would even go as far as to say, irrespective of whether it is Chernomyrdin in charge or not, never mind this will never be done, it's impossible. But, of course, there are all sorts of things that can be done, we can set the machines rolling and print money, I can start throwing money around and make increases, but then everything we have achieved would be completely written off, and the pensions would mean nothing. It would again be the pensioners and those on low wages who would suffer most. People paid out of the budget — the teachers and the doctors — why treat these people like that? I cannot do that. That is why it will take some doing, but that's what I'll do, and we will increase the pensions a little. Incidentally, for the first time we have had the chance this year — our economy has started to work in a different way than we have for the past four years. We have paid out pensions to the military — budget-funded organizations, the teachers and doctors have been paid. The only hold-ups have been with the local bodies. For the first time, the miners have been paid from the budget. And how I could promise something and then fail to do it, I can't imagine.

[Semenov] And now a question on voters. As every electoral bloc, you have your own strategy, your own plans. Each electoral bloc targets its own electorate. What category of voters you count on?

[Chernomyrdin] I count on all sensible people, serious and understanding. I think they are the majority. I do not think that people are indiscriminate. There are many well-known people, easily recognizable. Some have already been in the government several times. And did not do much for some reason. And some took part in disintegration of a great power — our USSR — and look what they are saying today. I do not think people forget such things easily.

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[Semenov] In political discussions many see a reflection of the open or hidden scramble for property. The example of this are passions that surround privatization at its present stage. In our opinion, how this process can be channeled into a normal course?

[Chernomyrdin] In a few words, we should cool down a bit. We cannot hide the fact or refuse to admit that mistakes were made here. Yes, there were mistakes. Yes, we failed in something. And how could we avoid this when no one had experience in such things. The principle that we need privatization is right. We should have owners, masters. Because a master will always do things better. We are traversing a path which proved itself in the rest of the world. But we are doing it on Russia's conditions. We cannot copy anyone and we do not wish to do it. It is not even possible to copy America, Germany, Japan, or France. We are Russians. We are different even as people, our national character is different. We are generous people, collectivist by nature. We stand for each other and do not count the cost. We can give away our last shirt. Other people will not do such things. And it is sad to see such people living in poverty With all our resources. And so, first of all, we are setting up market conditions for Russia. Naturally, this is not easy to do. And this includes privatization. This is why I am saying — let's cool it down a bit now. After all, we are not being rushed to fulfill some plan, why rush things?

At the moment we relieved some of our defense enterprises from privatization drive and freed them from taxes for a time being. When time is right, we shall privatize them in due course, and will continue with it. In Germany, by the way, I mean the former West Germany, they still have some non-privatized industries — railways, Lufthansa. And they are living well enough, even though they never had socialism or were made to build communism. They do what they can. And we in Russia — we always had state ownership and will continue to have. Many of our industries will be only government or state-owned. And those who are trying to accuse us, saying the government and Chernomyrdin want everything to be privatized — nothing of the sort. I know exactly that Russia cannot do without state ownership. And we shall be doing this. But I also do not support state or collective ownership of everything. Collective property means nobody's property to me. I do not accept that, either.

[Semenov] Viktor Stepanovich, some of your political opponents blame you personally for patronizing the oil and gas industry, which you have actually came from. Is there some patronizing element? And another question: Some publications — in particular, one American diplomat who recently caused a stir with his publication — are saying that Russian politics are dominated by industrial clans which mess things up.

[Chernomyrdin] I shall begin with the second one, the Americans, the clever chaps who so much want us to make a lot of silly mistakes, especially in the fundamental industries. And back at home there are even more such voices. The only thing I can tell in my defense is that I understand these things a little more than most, especially in the fuel and energy complex. And, despite everything, I believe that this industry is fundamental. And God protect us if the fuel and energy complex begins to disintegrate. Then everything else will fall apart automatically. There will be nothing to do. It does not matter whether it is a market-based, joint-stock or state-owned industry. We simply cannot afford this to happen. And I am doing everything to prevent this from happening. To say that I create special conditions for some is silly. Even to my old Gazprom. It is experiencing enormous difficulties at present. The energy industry is in a grave situation, transport — all the fundamental industries. It is because they are made to be fundamental. They were created as such, structurally. They were not set up like, say, in the United States.

For example, I must say that the energy industry in the United States is not worse than ours. We have not yet managed to catch up with them. Eighty percent of it is private. Imagine, even their hydro-electric power stations are private. Can you imagine such things in our country? With our system? The state there regulates only one major issue — God forbid something goes beyond the United States boundaries without the government knowing. But inside they make sure that no one fails to provide energy to any consumer. These are two main factors for which the state is responsible. They are responsible for it and hold it in their hands. Therefore, I want to say this again. I am especially sensitive towards the fundamental industries. God forbid that we make any silly mistakes here. In the fourth quarter of this year, a decision was adopted not to raise prices for gas, electricity, and railway transport.

[Chernomyrdin] A decision has been adopted. Everyone was warned in advance, all the heads of administration: Watch everyone and if anyone will misbehave you should punish them, up to sacking those responsible. And look what is happening. Krasnodar administration raised tariffs for domestic gas supplies from 20 rubles per cubic meter to 80. Imagine, a pensioner Mashkin writes to me from Krasnodar Territory that with his pension of 176,000 rubles per month he has to pay 70,000 for heating and gas. And many others from Stavropol, Krasnodar, Kabardino-Balkar Territories, from Voronezh, Ivanovo, Lipetsk, Nizhniy Nov-

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gorod, Penza, Pskov, Rostov and Saratov regions. And look what he is writing about: the governor increases the price of gas three-fold. This is probably done with one thing in mind — to make sure no one is voting for Russia is Our Home.

Someone from Rostov Region writes a letter to a chairman, a head of administration who recently doubled the tariff for gas. This is a new type of mine, a fast-working one, aimed at the government and the Russia is Our Home electoral bloc. I understand. If it is about gas, it means Chernomyrdin. Gazprom does not work directly with consumers. It works through regional and territorial gas supplying organizations. And they are doing it specially — what else can be so effective in making Chernomyrdin look bad? Although, I repeat, we adopted a difficult decision to freeze prices for energy carriers and railway tariffs. Don't these people have any conscience? I simply ring up heads of administrations. The one I rang just now said this can't be true. I do not know, but I shall look into it. They even do not know what is happening. This is almost a provocation. About ten days ago people someone said to me — Viktor Stepanovich, some local sharps do these swindles and then blame Chernomyrdin. Well, it is not easy to by-pass me in these matters. Especially because I do understand these things well enough. Why should I make mistakes deliberately?

[Semenov] Some oil and gas companies and enterprises are listed as having huge debts in tax arrears.

[Chernomyrdin] This is right. And this is why I say that they are in a most difficult situation today. Because consumers do not pay them. This is what our system is — who will try to switch off electricity? We do not disconnect supplies. And people think they can get away without paying. This is why they are in a difficult situation because they are not being paid, and where can they get money to pay taxes themselves? This is the most difficult question for the government today. We should work out a mechanism to ensure payments. And when the payments are coming, the taxes will be paid, too.

[Semenov] But what about clans — the gas, the defense, the agrarian?

[Chernomyrdin] Well, I would say that in a positive sense they are there. What can you do? They are supporting each other — fuel people keep to themselves, defense too. Life itself makes them so.

[Semenov] But they are not to be taken as units in political sense?

[Chernomyrdin] No, this is absolutely out of question. At least for me. I thing this is all pre-election talk. It will pass and everything will fall into place.

[Semenov] And now, if possible, say few words about Chechnya. you name is being connected with the beginning of political settlement in Chechnya. But recently there has been a certain pause in the events. How do you see the continuation of this process?

[Chernomyrdin] The pause is not connected with some artificially imposed conditions. The matter is not that easy to bring the peace process which we have started to its conclusion in a short time. It is easy to start a war, but difficult to end it. And the pause is first of all is forced on us by people who keep on nudging us: why don't you blast them there, why don't you disperse them. This is the problem. I would not like that. Some people forgot very quickly that during the armed conflict hundreds of our boys were killed there each day. I cannot say that everything has been done. Many other things need doing. But, at least, we did not stop the process of restoration of Chechnya. We do absolutely everything to ensure that negotiation process goes on. We make every effort to avoid a wave of vengeance, to prevent new clashes. We cannot allow that. Chechnya is Russia. Russian people live there. We are going for elections there because elections are needed. This is also a step forward. Yes, I understand that it is difficult to hold elections in such situation. People are being intimidated. But we have to do it.

This is why we, the government, and the president who, I know, pays great attention to this, are doing everything to make sure it is all done peacefully. Unfortunately, look what they are doing. Last explosions — all is done to provoke us to take the same action. We would not unleash military action.

[Semenov] You have already mentioned this, that human life is losing its value very rapidly. It has a price — in rubles, in dollars. No one is spared if it suits somebody. There was the last tragedy in Vladikavkaz where a scoundrel killed little children. A new minister or a new Prosecutor General, a program for fighting crime — a great number of documents. But people still ask — when will the government move from declarations, intentions, and laments and get down to business? When it is going to put an end to it?

[Chernomyrdin] I have little to say in defense here. I myself do not like empty words, this is death to me. Recently I inspected a program on fighting crime, presented by the ministry. We could not adopt it. It its impossible to adopt it in the light of what is going on today. To take some measures just to add points — we cannot allow it. We should have serious, properly

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defined policy on fighting crime. The crime in Russia has changed a great deal. Criminals are not the same. You yourself said they now attack the most sacred — the children. This is why adequate methods and measures should be used.

Our new minister, Anatoliy Sergeyevich Kulikov understands this. I see this problem as number one today. Society cannot constantly live in such situations. Therefore the measures should be appropriate. We shall report to the president. And the parliament will also get involved in these questions. One can appoint 20 Kulikovs or 20 Chernomyrdins, but the country will be no better off without a criminal code. We should understand that we all have to get involved in this. And only then we shall make progress. I hope the State Duma of the new convocation should begin with this, with such cardinal and resolute measures.

[Semenov] Our conversation is moving to its end. With your permission, let us look a bit into the future. After election there can be a possibility of forming a coalition government. If some political shifts will take place. Will Russia is Our Home be prepared to accept such a coalition with whomever it finds possible? And if such situation should arise, will you agree, in principle, to lead a coalition government?

[Chernomyrdin] First of all, I should say for myself. I am in favor of the government of professionals. The government is not a political body. It is not a party, not a CPSU Central Committee. We shall not again live in such times. Only understanding, professionally educated people who should work in the government. I can't tell you that in Chernomyrdin's government today everyone is. Russia is Our Home... [pauses] Nothing of the kind. My deputy prime minister and a minister are agrarians, Shakhray is from PRES [Party of Russian Unity and Accord], I have a minister from Russia's Choice. So even today the government is not very homogenous, so to say. As for the future, let me repeat — I am for professionals, for thinkers, and more importantly, for those who are able to do this very important job.

I can tell you and all our listeners that I know pretty well many factions existing today and their leaders. I have often asked those of them who criticize the government too often. So you think we are doing it wrong. Yes, they say. So then, you know how to do it? Why don't you come? I told this to Yavlinskiy, and to many others. If you know, what are you waiting for, why don't you come? Are you enemies of your own people, your country? Do come, I am prepared to sit next to anyone. Not a single one responded. You understand, not a single one. When we come, then we'll deliver, they say. Can you believe it? That they will deliver? Of course not.

Three years ago Chernomyrdin was a different person. I was not inexperienced when I came, I did not come from a research lab, I was not an instructor or a head of lab. I came after I had achieved something in life. So today, when I look back at my three years, I say to myself, not to anyone else, but to myself that I am very different from the Chernomyrdin of December 1992. That is why those who say today that if they come to power they would pay salaries, scholarships, pensions tomorrow, stop this or that, and move ahead — all this is garbage, yet more subterfuge, yet more deception.

It is undesirable, to say the least, to rock Russia again today. We must move ahead. Under no circumstances must we stop. We should correct our mistakes, but we must move forward. Processes should not stop, I am convinced. Personally I am prepared to work with any business-minded professionally trained people. I believe that that's what any government should be about.

[Semenov] And to round up, not a very serious question. Imagine the elections are over. Should the bloc "Russia is Our Home" succeed, which will be your personal success to a certain extent, how are you, Viktor Stepanovich, going to celebrate it — in line with the folk tradition or in any other way? And if you fail, what will be your consolation prize?

[Chernomyrdin, laughing] I am not gearing up for either in any special way, because things are not easy at all now. I want everyone to understand what we like and want to do. I want people to make the right choice. I have seen so many successes and failures in my life, I have gone through so much. I believe I will manage to contain my emotions in either case.

[Semenov] Will you be able to have a long lie-in, at least?

[Chernomyrdin, laughing] Thank you very much for a good discussion. I wish kindness, patience and health to all your listeners. Our country will never be on its knees, never, although many want it. I am sure, I am convinced. We have everything to provide well-being to every family. We must and will do everything. While I am here, and I am speaking now mainly on my own behalf, I will do all I can for a better life of our people, for their well-being. And we'll get there.

[Semenov] Thank you very much and all the best to you.

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Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Discuss Chechnya Situation

LD1512223295 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin in a telephone conversation have discussed the situation in Chechnya and action taken by the federal leadership to stabilize the republic. Chernomyrdin noted that the worsening of the situation in Chechnya has demonstrated who in reality aspires to stabilization and peace.

Lebed Advocates Death Penalty, 'League of Slav Peoples'

AU1612174195 Vienna KURIER in German 16 Dec 95 p 5

[Report by Livia Klingl: "Lebed: Death Penalty and a League of Slavs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksandr Lebed, 45, ex-general and neo- politician of the "Congress of Russian Communities" (KRO), never smiles. Chile's Pinochet is his model. He has been a teetotaler since 1993 because "someone has to remain sober." For the Russians, he has charisma and a good election campaign slogan: Against corruption, against crime, for law and order. "Today there is shooting in Chechnya, tomorrow a state of emergency in Russia," he fears.

KURIER interviewed him on

— the best form of government for Russia:

"We do not need a return to a state ruled by communists. Among the priorities of my party is to establish a constitutional state, which we do not have."

— the protection of Russians abroad, which he is propagating:

"We have sufficient means for that: economic, political, and military means."

— ideas of reestablishing the Soviet Union:

"We must form a league of Slav peoples. The league of peoples living close by will come; I am convinced of that."

— the potential problems of a trained military man in the political morass:

"Evil deeds must be publicized, and we need harsher punishment. The judicial standards must be simplified for a certain period — it must be possible to shoot the gangsters outright. The death penalty must be possible for all spheres of organized crime. Now money is stolen from the little people, and the thieves then sit in parliament."

Problems Seen in Transition From Yeltsin

MK1612153595 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Veronika Kutsyllo under the "Problem of Authority in Russia" rubric: "Russia To Have a New President in Six Month's Time"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are exactly six months left before the presidential elections scheduled for 16 June. They will differ strikingly from the current elections for the State Duma, because after 17 December actual authority will not change hands — Boris Yeltsin will remain in power. What steps might the current residents of the Kremlin take to stay there even after 16 June, and how will these steps be underpinned ideologically? During the past few weeks KOMMERSANT-DAILY's Veronika Kutsyllo spoke on these subjects with representatives of the presidential entourage and with presidential loyalists and opponents in other political structures. KOMMERSANT-DAILY offers its readers the resulting picture.

Boris Yeltsin's Era and the Point of No Return

The standoff between the president and government on the one hand and the parliament, on the other, which was typical for 1992-1993, has become history. Presently, it is not confrontation between the different branches of power that makes the difference, but the horizontal and vertical ties between politicians representing these branches. The Duma and the Federation Council are a far cry from the Supreme Soviet, let alone the Congress of People's Deputies, which could make "momentous" decisions. Within two years Yeltsin managed to become the actual head of state, not the head of just one branch of power — the executive — what he had actually been before October 1993.

This achievement cost Yeltsin dearly — he paid for it with a precipitous fall in his approval rating among the people. The image of the president as fighter (against privileges, communism, Soviets, and so forth), so dear to people's hearts, was replaced by the image of just a president. Ironically, the more Yeltsin avoids head-on confrontation with his opponents, the more difficult it is for him to retain any chance of reelection. Yeltsin the presidential candidate objectively stands to benefit from a communist-patriotic comeback in the Duma elections, for it will provide him with an actual enemy, the struggle against whom could become the foundation of his election campaign. Yeltsin the president needs

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popular confidence that the authority will remain stable — he is earnestly convinced that he was "called" to the political Olympus not only to destroy the old system (like many politicians of the transition period), but in order to build a new one in its place.

Let us not touch on the problems of his health. Let us imagine that the president has definitively improved his health for a long time to come and will contest the 1996 elections (according to Aleksandr Korzhakov, Yeltsin will announce his decision in February). Elections entail the possibility of a change in power, while the prospect of power's changing hands inevitably raises the problem of the so-called point of no return — or, rather, whether or not Russia has passed it. Curiously, nearly all those who hope to leave their imprint on Russian history say unanimously, regardless of their political views, that the point of no return has not yet been passed. The difference being that in the view of the opposition it is Russia's luck that these processes can yet be reversed, one just needs to act quickly while there is still time to do so. For the president's followers, who acknowledge this as if grudgingly, this is a threat that requires action. Naturally, the question regarding the point of no return is closely intertwined with another question: Is Boris Yeltsin's era drawing to an end, or is it still in full swing?

The Kremlin's official stance is evident: Boris Yeltsin's era goes on. First, because for all his achievements Yeltsin's reformist potential has not yet been exhausted. Second, because only Yeltsin's figure is keeping the country now and will keep it in the future from destabilization and sliding backward.

Of course, while being a good electoral move, the slogan "Yeltsin is the country's only hope," on the other hand amounts to a recognition of the vulnerability of the system he himself created. For this reason it should be offset by actions of the authorities proving its unshakable nature. It is fully evident that the Kremlin is betting on this system and is really fearful of its disruption (U.S. political scholar Aleksandr Yanov's book likening Russia to Germany during the Weimar Republic is the publication quoted most frequently by presidential loyalists). Virtually all the latest decisions by the president and the government are aimed at strengthening it and creating a framework for the future, which is clearly not limited to June 1996. The edict on delaying regional elections, the appearance of several government decrees at one time on long-term programs reaching into the 21st century, legal and judicial reforms, and the creation of formidable financial industrial groups — it is all designed to strengthen the system regardless of who is in power.

Kremlin Aikido

It has become a tradition to expect the worst from the powers that be — the myth of Yeltsin's carefully disguised perfidy (fraught with a postponement or cancellation of the elections), created by the press and political scholars, cannot be dispelled by his most candid assurances to the contrary. The possibility of canceling or postponing elections at the initiative of the president or his entourage is still nearly one of the most topical subjects. Meanwhile, this school of thought does not take account even of elementary logic. The simplest analysis of Yeltsin's political actions suggests the evident conclusion that Yeltsin's career and viability genetically stem from legitimate popular support expressed by democratic methods. He will simply be unable adequately to continue in office after spurning scheduled elections.

Of course, it is an Asian-Kalmyk option that would suit the Kremlin best (changing the law on referendums is just a technical matter after all). The Kremlin, but not Yeltsin. A politician of his psychological type needs to be assured of popular support, which, moreover, must be expressed legitimately.

The most diverse methods may be used in the struggle for the presidency, varying from purely practical to purely psychological, as well as mixed ones. "Flying trial balloons into the future" can be called a practical-psychological method, while the "struggle with the communist-nationalist threat" is a purely psychological one. Yet another method, widely used in politics, is the "interception" of ideas and sentiments gaining currency in society, a political aikido of sorts. You overpower the enemy as if by giving way to him and continuing his movement.

Boris Yeltsin has mastered this type of martial arts to perfection, and he can gradually knock most propaganda supports out from under his political opponents. The ideology of statehood and patriotism, which has eclipsed the ideology of "antisovietism," has been borrowed from the programs of the president's opponents. This is a large borrowing, so to speak. As for minor ones, Boris Yeltsin resorts to them fairly often. The latest case in point is his gracefully taking over the problem of demobilizing "Chechnya" and "Tajikistan" compulsory service soldiers: The president sent back to the Duma the bill enabling recruits who participated in warfare to be demobilized after 18 months, not two years, and granted them the same right by his edict. So who is it to whom the servicemen should be grateful?

The "interception" method (they in the Kremlin prefer a less expressive term — "the integration of political

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trends") will be used even more widely after 17 December. The range of borrowed solutions may be extremely diverse — from the continued manufacturing of "socially-oriented" edicts, such as the recent "greed and foolishness benefit" to [pyramid-scheme] investors and partial deprivatization, to large-scale showcase trials featuring corrupt officials from the top echelons of power.

Skuratov and Dubinin Are Just the Beginning

A new line has also emerged in personnel policy. At first sight, the president was making his latest appointments according to "interception" methods, but in fact there seems to be something more important to it. In the Kremlin, this process is called the "new personnel policy." The appointments of Dubinin and Skuratov are just the tip of the iceberg, which will fully emerge above water only after the parliamentary elections. This iceberg has a name that is very difficult to pronounce — "the constitutionalization of authority." This is also a method of strengthening the system. The legitimacy of bureaucrats' stay in power may not raise any doubts in society.

Of course, the opposition's talk of a broad alliance in the new parliament that will allegedly automatically lead to the formation of a new government is a complete bluff. The Constitution does not oblige the president to change the cabinet or the premier after the December elections; the cabinet tenders its resignation only to the newly-elected president. The conviction is gaining ground in the Kremlin, however, that it would be fully logical for Boris Yeltsin to get rid of the most often criticized figures, such as Andrey Kozyrev and Pavel Grachev. Although it would be preferable to carry out this operation after 17 December, information is already seeping out that Kozyrev is openly bracing for resignation, while Grachev has heard at least two warning calls — the dismissal of Vasiliy Vorobev and Aleksandr Korzhakov's interview for Russian Public Television [ORT] the day before yesterday, in which Yeltsin's chief bodyguard listed the defense minister's excessive love for his family and friends and a gift for delivering reports and organizing parades as his best qualities. Firing the ministers would be easy, however; what would be more difficult is to find replacements for them who would create at least a semblance of a coalition cabinet. But the Kremlin is actively searching for candidates, there is no doubt about it.

If these two processes — "constitutionalization" and "interception" — are carried to their logical extremes (or absurdity, which is nearly the same in this particular case), even absolutely fantastic scenarios will become possible: The government, for instance, could tender a resignation of its own accord. Or it may be asked to do so by the president. Then Boris Yeltsin will have two weeks to tell the Duma the name of the new prime minister (with Chernomyrdin being his main support base at the Duma) or... the old one — so as to reaffirm his authority.

Yet, the Kremlin's choice of one method or another will depend on the situation that will come about after 17 December. An overly vigorous attack by the new Duma on the cabinet could well backfire, and the cabinet might be pointedly retained. The thing is that Yeltsin is not a genius of "multi-move" combinations (however eagerly his analysts might draw them up); his forte is to choose at the crucial moment a stopgap measure from a pile of recommended scenarios that would be most fitting for this situation. He is perfectly aware of that and, as far as KOMMERSANT-DAILY knows, sometimes deliberately asks his advisers to leave certain matters not fully resolved so as to cut the Gordian knot at the last moment on his own.

Must Ne'er Be Harnessed to One Cart

It is this presidential skill that makes it virtually impossible to predict the sequence of his moves. The situation is being made worse by the fact that the Kremlin has no single brain trust, whereas the various small trusts do not always have horizontally-arranged links between them both at the stage of scenarios and at the stage of concrete actions. Nor is there campaign machinery that could take care of Yeltsin's campaign in a centralized manner. It is perhaps better this way after all. There was more than one attempt to create such a rigid hierarchy — the history of the struggle to restructure the administration adds up to months, if not years, and it might not be at an end even if Yeltsin signs an edict. Describing this struggle only as a conflict between Ilyushin, Filatov, and Korzhakov is unjustified. The ongoing struggle is not for soft jobs but for Yeltsin himself, hence for Russia's future. Indeed, most dangerous is a "rollback" engineered from within.

However, for several years now, Yeltsin has been giving lie to the adage that a steed and a deer cannot pull the same cart [reference to a line from Pushkin] — he has been able to use to his own advantage the disparate aspirations of those around him thanks to his ability to keep his bearings. In all likelihood, the ambitious plans to make the administration into a single campaign staff led by Ilyushin, with a behind-the-back Korzhakov, and Filatov reduced to organizational work, are not going to prove so ambitious after all. At least, according to KOMMERSANT-DAILY's information, the latest plan only distantly resembles the original rigidly structured variants.

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Incidentally, the inordinate growth of the Presidential Security Service head's political clout in 1994-1995 and his "reactionary" party is yet another myth. First, Korzhakov's influence could hardly have grown after 1991, since it was big right from the start. Second, many people know that, if one can come up with a definition of the political choices of such a whimsical figure as Korzhakov at all, the only definition is: He is the main opponent of "obkomovtsy" [oblast Communist party secretaries] (with the exception of the "obkomovets" Yeltsin, naturally) in the Kremlin. (As for Ilyushin, in addition to his apparat past, they in the Kremlin have another bone to pick with him: It is owing to his first aide that Yeltsin had the naive belief that Yuriy Skokov had genuine respect for him). That is to say, simplistically put, Korzhakov is a supporter of the democrats as it were. It is another matter that he does not include in this category many of those conventionally regarded as people of a democratic orientation — Filatov, for one.

One of the latest instances of division among Kremlin services is the story of the "Russian Reforms — New Course" movement. The Kremlin-Shumeyko idea — according to KOMMERSANT-DAILY's information, taking part in developing it were both Yeltsin's aides and the Presidential Security Service — was launched too early, in the Kremlin's view. True, the situation can be described in a different way: Yeltsin deliberately "clamped down on" Shumeyko in a bid to stress the independence of the initiative. Some Kremlin analysts thought this haste disadvantageous, diverting attention from the election. Other analysts were convinced of the opposite — the earlier the better.

Generally speaking, the creation of this movement is rather logical — this is a replacement for the weak center-left bloc. How else to explain Shumeyko's sudden "going social democratic?" The idea to merge, after 17 December, blocs loyal to Yeltsin to form a single powerful pro-presidential force is not obsolete yet. The reasons are as follows: If two blocs are not strong enough, let's add a third one (forth, fifth, etc.). As they say in the Kremlin, Korzhakov's deputy Georgiy Rogozin, who is patronizing "Russian Reforms," thinks that one of the movement's missions should be to protect the president as an institution. Whether the movement justifies the hopes pinned on it is too early to judge. It is clear, however, that its missions are quite in agreement with "constitutionalization" if one sees it as keeping the status quo.

Setting Limits on Charisma

Many people in the Kremlin are convinced that Russia is not ready yet for a peaceful transfer (surrendering, in the given case) of power to another force. It is also believed that Yeltsin's staying in power is the only guarantee of keeping his entourage. This is not necessarily so. Not all of the entourage, but some people in it may be considering another leader — some, Skokov, Soskovets, or Shumeyko; some, Luzhkov (he, Korzhakov thinks, is unsuited for president either now or in the year 2000). But all of these people realize very well that there is yet no figure matching Yeltsin in charisma who is also a figure of the system; this must be nurtured first. Nor is there a procedure for transferring power that is beyond doubt. The Constitution is only a contour. Who is going to turn over to a new president the "nuclear suitcase," and how? Who is quitting the Kremlin, who is staying on, who will be the "steward?" Would Yeltsin's departure entail a massive "emigration" of civil servants, including the "special servants" from the power structures, as was the case in 1991? The entourage is not sure yet of the reverse — they will follow together with Yeltsin the procedural road.

It is this road that poses the biggest threat for Yeltsin. The president is trying to force on society rules of the game beyond which society would not be able to go even if the leader is replaced. A paradox: The most charismatic leader of Russia is doing everything to reduce the role of charisma to the minimum in the future. It is he who is the first to match the limits on charisma. Yeltsin is constantly expected to make sharp body movements, secretly prepared blows. He is expected to clearly indicate the enemy — the new Duma as a whole, or the Communists separately, or General Lebed in particular. With the exception of some screwups, Yeltsin constantly disappoints both his former ardent supporters and the implacable opposition: He is trying — successfully or otherwise — to play by the rules laid down two years ago.

Should Yeltsin convince the people of Russia of this, he would have a chance in June 1996. This is possible — the president has yet another quality he can make use of — the ability to pull apart, as it were, the strands of political intricacies people do not quite understand, appealing directly to the people. If not, making procedures a fetish would blow into his face. Be that as it may, Yeltsin is no longer the president he was in 1991-1993. The ideology of expediency is still going strong — which is being proven by Chechnya, for example — but it is conceding its positions to the "constitutionality" ideology. In principle, it can be said that the Boris Yeltsin era — if seen as an era of overthrowing past ideals, an era of forcible destruction of the old system — is almost at an end. Whatever another Duma is going to be, there will be no struggle "to the death" between the authorities inside Russia.

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There will be political moves — good or bad. There will be powerful propaganda for and against Yeltsin — good or bad, but not more than that. Whatever its outcome, the 16 June elections will return a new president radically different from Boris Yeltsin — a destroyer and implacable fighter. Even if the name of that president is Boris Yeltsin.

Russia Said in Pre-Revolutionary Conditions

MM1812093395 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Professor Yuriy Kachanovskiy: "Nosedive. Stabilization With Symptoms of a Coma"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Khabarovsk — [Passage omitted] The situation in Russia today corresponds entirely to V.I. Lenin's definition of the revolutionary situation. "Generally speaking, what are the signs of a revolutionary situation? We would surely not be wrong if we pointed out the following three main signs: 1) the ruling classes' inability to maintain their dominance unchanged: a crisis of the 'upper classes,' the crisis of the policy of the ruling class, which creates a split enabling the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes to erupt. The 'refusal of the lower classes' is usually not enough to trigger a revolution, it needs the 'inability of the upper classes' to live in the old way to achieve that. 2) The needs and problems of the oppressed classes have to become more acute than usual. 3) There must be a considerable increase in the activeness of the masses for the above reasons...." (V.I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, vol. 26, p. 218).

All these factors exist in Russia today but is it possible to overthrow the Yeltsin-Chernomyrdin anti-people occupation regime "at one fell swoop" by relying on the revolutionary situation? I do not think so. No revolution in history has been carried out "at one fell swoop." Each revolution — the English Revolution in the 17th century, the French Revolution in the 18th century, and the Great October Socialist Revolution — led to a long, bloody struggle. In present-day Russia, which is filled with nuclear missiles, nuclear power stations, and hazardous production units, this would mean a global catastrophe both for us and for all civilization. Only madmen can gamble on such a scenario. Any proposal aimed at resolving everything "at one fell swoop" is not even worth discussing.

However, it is impossible to ignore the existence of a revolutionary situation in Russia. It is the duty of all normal people to do everything possible to ensure:

— first, that it does not develop into a social explosion;

— and second, that society emerges from the revolutionary situation onto the road of normal /crisis-free/ development.

Special responsibility rests with the Yeltsin-Chernomyrdin regime. It is an indisputable fact that they can no longer govern the country and cannot resolve a single problem, starting with the salvation of the economy and ending with the fight against crime. But if they nevertheless cling onto power at all costs, thereby inciting a social explosion, they will place themselves in the position of dangerous criminals who threaten all civilization.

Option Three: Instill Order

We must examine the following questions:
What are the aims of the struggle?
By what methods is it to be waged?

The aims of the struggle.

They are included in the election platform of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] (See SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 31 August 1995). [passage omitted]

People are being intimidated by the claim that if the Communists come to power they will set Russia at odds with the West and revive the "Cold War." The Communists and patriotic forces have no interest in that. We need peace and good-neighborly relations with the West to ensure more favorable conditions for Russia's revival. We want to end the third world war by an honorable peace. The West must understand (sensible politicians already understand this) that the crises of the 21st century can be favorably resolved only on condition of **equitable cooperation among the states of the world.** But there are attempts from a position of strength using political and economic pressure to resolve environmental problems and problems of resources in favor of the "golden billion" to the detriment of the third world countries and Russia, this will ultimately prove disastrous for civilization. Communists support the resolute defense of Russia's national interests and at the same time support the closest cooperation with Western countries on the basis of equality and an amicable and just consideration of each other's interests.

I believe that the CPRF's program and election platform correctly point the way in the struggle to overcome the crisis and ensure the motherland's revival and progress. There will be many difficulties to overcome on this path. But the Communists would be deceiving the people if they said that there is an easy road. There is no easy road. The motherland is semi-destroyed, it has been cut to the quick and become dependent for food and

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finance on other powers. It will require strenuous work and struggle to end all this and enable our children and grandchildren to live a normal, happy life. The struggle must be well thought out and purposeful if it is to be conducted by peaceful methods alone.

At the present stage it is necessary to win the peaceful battle on 17 December 1995. Over 2,600 candidates have registered for the 225 State Duma seats in the single-seat districts, an average of 12 candidates per seat. Here in Khabarovsk there are 18 candidates in the single-seat district. There are over 40 parties on the federal electoral list. How is all this to be sorted out? Is it not all that difficult. I urge people to vote for the list of candidates from the CPRF, which is number 25 on the ballot paper. And in the single-seat district vote for the candidate nominated by the CPRF.

Attempts To Restore Strategic Influence Viewed

MS1812093295 London THE TIMES in English 18 Dec 95 p 11

[Article by Jonathan Eyal, director of studies at the Royal United Services Institute in London: "How Western Promises Failed to Kill Off Russia's Dream of Past Glories"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Despite all the claims to the contrary, no Western leader ever believed that Russian democracy was a serious proposition. Indeed, support for President Yeltsin is based on the assumption that he is the only man able to ignore the wishes of his parliament and, by implication, those of the Russian electorate.

From this perspective, Western governments may be right in ignoring the Russian parliamentary elections, since the parliament has few real powers, apart from the ability to generate a great deal of hot air. Furthermore, the expected surge in the vote for the Communists is a Europe-wide phenomenon. Finally, even if the result is "unfortunate", as many Western politicians privately expect, there is little that anyone can do about it.

Nevertheless, the elections are a clear indication that Western policies to encourage economic reform and partnership with Moscow have failed. Instead of a more cooperative and benign partner, the world will be faced with a morose Russia, neither pleasant nor pliant, and determined to restore its strategic influence at all costs.

In the words of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, a leading reformer, the 43 political movements involved in the elections promised everything "apart from the restoration of virginity"; lower taxes and prices and higher salaries and pensions featured in all their platforms.

Unremarkable, since elections everywhere are littered with similar promises. Yet Russia is different. In all the countries of Eastern Europe, political parties were quickly formed after the collapse of communism and many have survived. In Russia, however, parties are created just before an election and just as quickly disappear. Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Prime Minister, founded his own movement only recently, having spent his time in office pretending to be above politics.

Stripped of their pretences, these elections amounted to little more than a tussle between a handful of politicians, former army generals, comedians, madmen and faith healers. The computers which now tally the votes are controlled by the old KGB, a sure sign of Russian-style impartiality. Finally, Russian elections merely legitimise a transfer of power that has already taken place.

Many Russians believe that the disintegration of the Soviet Union is a disaster that should be put right as soon as possible and that the West's promises of co-operation are ruses meant to keep Russia weak.

The only dispute between politicians is whether the re-creation of a Soviet sphere of influence should be accomplished by force soon, or through persuasion and economic pressure over time. It is a serious distinction, but without much difference for countries likely to receive Moscow's attentions.

Of much greater significance is the expected return of the Communists to parliament in great numbers. In Russia, this is again quite different from the case in the rest of Eastern Europe, where communism was imposed from outside after the Second World War.

In Russia, however, communism was home-grown and is associated with a period when the Soviet Union was either respected or feared. The West never had much chance of influencing Russia's internal developments. Nevertheless, much of Western policy was based on the belief that precisely the reverse was the case.

In fact, the new parliament is guaranteed to be more anti-Western despite all the international efforts at appeasement. And for simple reason: what the West has to offer, photo-opportunities and interminable conferences, is no longer interesting for Russia. And what Russia wants — influence, strategic space, games of balance of power — the West has not been prepared contemplate.

But the dialogue of the deaf between the West and Russia is now likely to end. Moscow will be ruled by people who not only want to be considered as representatives of a great power, but who fully expect to exact the necessary price for future co-operation.

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Military & Space Issues

Wreckage of Tu-154 Believed Found in Khabarovsk Kray

LD1812085895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0745 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 18 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — A civilian Mi-8 search helicopter has discovered fragments of an aircraft while overflying the area of Bo-Dzhaus mountain in Khabarovsk Kray. They are thought to be the remains of the Tu-154 that went missing on 6 December.

There is a large crater at the site, which experts think could have been caused by an aircraft's vertical impact with the ground. Pieces of wreckage and four undercarriage wheels are visible.

Air Traffic Controllers' Strike Closes Buryatia Airport

LD1612114795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1139 GMT 16 Dec 95

[By Aleksey Subbotin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ULAN-UDE, December 16 (Itar-Tass) — Ulan-Ude, the capital of the Russian component republic Buryatia, today closed its airport which has been idling since Saturday, because of all airtraffic controllers' strike.

The strikers are pursuing economic demands. What was left of the airport's services by the strike is being run by three administrators having qualifications of air traffic controllers.

A city administration spokesman told Itar-Tass that flights via Buryatia had been taken over by an auxiliary regional centre.

The Ulan-Ude airport normally serves up to 15 flights a day, and 30 other flights daily traverse the area of responsibility of local traffic controllers.

Wage Debts for Teachers, Military Paid Off

LD1612143495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1344 GMT 16 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 16 (Itar-Tass) -- Wage debts to budgetary enterprises in the social sphere were paid, as of December 1, taking into account pay rises of 54 percent since last September, reported on Saturday the Russian president's press service, referring to the data from the Finance Ministry on fulfilling President Boris Yeltsin's instruction to pay debts to teachers, enterprises of the social sphere and the military-industrial complex.

Taking into account the difficult situation with payment of salaries to teachers, 395 billion roubles received from additional revenues were transferred for this purpose.

The press service noted at the same time that the Russian president has information that some funds transferred to localities have not reached addressees. Responsibility for non-payment of money in this case fully rests with local bodies of power.

Earlier, Yeltsin demanded that the government should approve a schedule of paying debts to enterprises of the State Committee for the Defence Industry. The operating schedule planned for three months — between October and December — provides for a total sum of 7,600 billion roubles.

The remaining part of the debt of 3,100 billion roubles will be repaid by the Finance Ministry by the end of this year. The ministry assured that only under 200 billion roubles will be delayed till January 1996.

Nuclear Research Institute Shown for First Time

MM1512161895 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 8 Dec 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Video report from Inorganic Materials Scientific Research Institute by A. Dubnov, identified by caption; figures in brackets denote broadcast time in GMT in hours, minutes, and seconds]

[FBIS Translated Text] [111513] [Dubnov over shots of exterior, interior of institute] At the end of the forties the first measurable quantities of weapons-grade plutonium were obtained in this building. Journalists have never before set foot in the All-Russian Inorganic Materials Scientific Research Institute named for Academician Bochvar. The "Vesti" camera team were the first ever to have been admitted.

The institute was founded in 1945 to resolve materials-science and technological problems pertaining to the production of nuclear weapons. Unique techniques have been developed in the secret laboratories of this institute. For instance the method for the safe production of highly toxic polonium for nuclear weapons. A nuclear power plant operating on polonium isotopes ensured the successful operation of the Lunokhod moon buggies.

Over the past 50 years the range of research work carried out here has broadened considerably. Now the institute's specialists are working on the design of fuel elements for various types of nuclear reactors and on perfecting means and methods of non-destructive monitoring. Work in cold plasma makes it possible to obtain materials not just for the nuclear power industry, but also for everyday use. The institute's work

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on superconductors and beryllium is now part of an international project on controlled nuclear fusion.

The recent declassification of the work of the Inorganic Materials Scientific Research Institute inspires hope that contracts and joint projects will enable this leading institute in the sphere of nuclear power engineering to improve its financial situation. The low wages of our scientists and engineers are no state secret. [111636] [video shows extensive footage of institute interior, equipment, and production facilities]

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Reportage: Elections, Negotiations, Military

Zavgayev Elected: 'Fraud' Observed

AU1812123895 Paris AFP in English 1215 GMT 18 Dec 95

[Report by Peter Graff]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Groznyy, Russia, Dec 18 (AFP) — Voters in Chechnya have confirmed the Moscow-installed prime minister as leader of the republic in a landslide election, officials said Monday [18 December], despite evidence of fraud and a mass boycott of the polls.

"More than 90 percent" of those who voted chose Doku Zavgayev, the former Chechen communist party boss, who had already been installed as the Caucasus republic's interim "prime minister" by Russian forces earlier this year.

Electoral commission chief Abdul-Kerim Arsakhanov told AFP that according to preliminary results available by midday Monday, 248,200 people, or 53.6 percent of "registered" voters participated in the elections.

A 25 percent turnout was needed to validate the poll.

Since no voter registration took place in Chechnya, authorities were using estimates from local election officials of the number of voting-aged people living in each district to determine the size of the electorate, he said.

No preliminary results were available for simultaneous voting for deputies to the Russian parliament.

No international observers monitored throughout the four-day elections in Chechnya, but journalists observed widespread fraud and multiple voting at polling stations.

Several Russian journalists who were not residents of Chechnya said that they cast votes without showing any documents, often more than once, just to prove that it could be done.

One election official, who asked not to be named, admitted to AFP that he himself voted for Zavgayev twice, once on behalf of his daughter.

Rebels loyal to separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev boycotted the vote and according to anecdotal evidence most Chechens, including many who oppose Dudayev, also stayed away from the polls.

Zavgayev has a base of support in parts of Chechnya which opposed Dudayev even before the war, such as the Nadterechny region to the north and the town of Urus Martan in the south.

In Groznyy, much of the Russian-speaking population and a fair number of Chechen intellectuals, many of whom are on the payroll of Zavgayev's lavishly funded government, also said they support him.

But most Chechens who spoke to AFP said they saw Zavgayev as a puppet of Moscow and assumed the vote would be rigged.

Zavgayev faced only token opposition in the polling. The other two candidates were a fortune-teller and an obscure journalist who suspiciously used his free electoral television time to praise Zavgayev.

Former Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, considered by many to be a popular neutral choice and a figure of authority in Chechnya, bowed out of the race last week, calling the elections a sham.

Dudayev's supporters vowed to stop the polling, and separatist guerrillas launched several assaults, including a major operation on Chechnya's second largest town, Gudermes, when the four-day polling period began Thursday.

The separatists were still in control of the city Monday.

Separatist forces also seized buildings in Urus Martan and took control of highways in much of the Chechen countryside for the first time since summer.

Although the Russians only appeared to be offering resistance in Gudermes, troops tightened their grip on the capital Groznyy and neighbouring Argun.

Russian forces rolled into Chechnya in December, 1994 to crush the Dudayev government's independence bid.

Some 30,000 people have died in the fighting since, according to most estimates, and much of the republic has been reduced to rubble.

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Khasbulatov on Quitting Chechen Elections

MK1512160595 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 95 p 3

[Interview with Ruslan Khasbulatov, former speaker of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondents under the "Viewpoint" rubric; in Moscow, date not given: "Elections in Chechnya Will Lead to the Emergence of Two Republics. According to Ruslan Khasbulatov's Information, Preparations Are Under Way To Rig Election Results"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After announcing his withdrawal from the contest for the post of head of the Chechen Republic at a news conference in Groznyy, Ruslan Khasbulatov returned to Moscow. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondents asked him to spell out his stance in greater detail.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Ruslan Imranovich, what prompted your refusal to participate in the elections?

[Khasbulatov] As of today neither the organizational and technical nor the psychological conditions for holding elections have been created. The reasons for that are more than evident — the idea of elections was "thrown in" a month before the elections were to be held. Within such a short period of time it is impossible to prepare elections, if only because the latest census was held in 1989, before the elections for the Supreme Soviet of Checheno-Ingushetia. Later, when presidential elections were held in Chechnya, the same lists were used.

But much has changed in the meantime. Checheno-Ingushetia ceased to exist, and the Dudayev regime forced many people to leave the republic. The tragic war, too, took its toll — hundreds of thousands of people have left the Chechen Republic. Now many people are returning, but they no longer have homes of their own.

I think that the federal authorities have missed a favorable opportunity for holding elections. They could have been held back in the summer. My conversations with leaders of the resistance movement repeatedly confirmed that. Then the elections were scheduled for 5 November, but, unfortunately, the federal authorities embarked on the path of delays so as to keep the provisionally appointed administration in power and did not do anything to carry out a census. No one expected the idea of holding elections to pop up so suddenly. On the contrary, we agreed with Zavgayev, among others, that the elections would be held in the spring — in March — and that in the meantime we ought to work hard in order to create the political prerequisites.

I drew up the key principle of a treaty between the Russian Federation and Chechnya, and it was a pleasant surprise for me to learn that the resistance movement leaders, including Yarikhanov, head of its official delegation, accepted the draft. I think that in the draft we defined very clearly the border that may not be crossed from the point of view of the Russian Federation's constitutional principles. These are matters relating to Russia's territorial integrity. I based my draft on four postulates that are essential for the Chechen Republic to make progress in relations with the federal authorities. These are common citizenship, open borders, a single monetary system, and Chechnya's renunciation of it own regular army. The proposed version upheld all principles of the Russian Federation's integrity stemming not only from the Constitution, but also from the psychology of Russian society; for the notion of Russian integrity has already become part of citizens' consciousness regardless of what is laid down in the Constitution.

When our stance was made public and recognized in the Chechen Republic, we hoped that this draft would be assumed as a basis, because it called for specific steps toward rapprochement and a further negotiating process. We designed a mechanism for holding elections. I had repeated conversations with Oleg Lobov and Vyacheslav Mikhaylov, who backed my plan. Doku Zavgayev did not object either, but all of a sudden they called elections, and this inflamed the situation once again.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] What treaty did Chernomyrdin and Zavgayev sign?

[Khasbulatov] I do not know. No one in the republic has seen it. People are not fuming because the treaty is bad. Maybe it is even better than the one we had drawn up. But we are worried by the fact that the preparations for the signing were kept secret from the entire people of the republic. It was signed by a person who is not vested with any authority, who is not popularly elected. The resistance movement said bluntly that this was done in order to recognize the current authorities in Groznyy as legitimate and to declare their opponents bandits and political vagabonds. After this treaty was signed the polarization between the resistance movement and the provisional administration in Groznyy increased. The Zavgayev Administration chose completely to ignore the resistance movement. But this should not be done, because the number of its followers is growing. People think it dangerous that the old party methods of governing — feuds and intrigues — are returning, and they go over to the Dudayevites.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] And still, how are the preparations for the elections in Chechnya faring?

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[Khasbulatov] When asked how many voters there are in Groznyy, members of the republic electoral commission answered: 120,000. At the city electoral commission I was given the figure of 250,000. Yet others say 310,000. As a candidate, I requested lists of voters. They did not give them to me. There are no lists, they are classified. I asked: And where are the polling stations? It turned out that they decided to set up semi-underground [polupodnolnyy] polling stations. They ordered 1,500 ballot boxes that will be moved to and fro by bus. Imagine what elections these will be!

At the same time I received information that in parallel some underground ballots are being manufactured that may already have been filled out. There have been nearly ridiculous incidents. I was approached by organizers of these underground measures who offered to reverse their work to my advantage.

It is quite unclear how strong an army contingent is currently deployed on the territory of the Chechen Republic. Figures that have been cited vary from 6,000 to 100,000. One officer came to our headquarters and said that they had already held elections... This is simply an absurd situation.

I have repeatedly been approached by women who complained about threats being made against them: If they vote "the wrong way," they will no longer be paid compensation for family members killed. Militiamen take passports from people and take down their contents.

But the most terrible things happen in the districts. One-half of the districts will not vote at all. The electoral commission in charge of Nozhay-Yurt district operates in Groznyy. That is, election results will be registered in Groznyy, while not even one person will turn out to vote in the district. Meanwhile, Groznyy is 70 km off! Of 22 districts, the vote may be held only in four districts of Groznyy at best. Even in the Urus-Martan district the situation has changed drastically. When Dudayev was in power, 99 percent of Urus-Martan residents were opposed to him. Now 60-80 percent of local residents are in opposition to the current authorities and do not want to participate in the election.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Who stood behind the choice of the election date? Both the federal authorities and presidential representative Oleg Lobov could not but realize what might follow after such elections.

[Khasbulatov] Unfortunately, Oleg Lobov backed these elections; he said that conditions are ripe for holding them. But he quickly realized that this is not so. A few days ago, addressing local television, he said that the initiative of holding elections originated with the local authorities, not with Moscow, that is, he was careful to deflect in advance possible criticism aimed at him.

Doku Zavgayev created the impression in Moscow that there is no resistance movement at all, and that its commanders are practically standing in line outside his office to give up their weapons.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Presently there is talk once again about a military solution to the Chechen problem. You must have spoken to military men. What do the officers themselves think in that regard?

[Khasbulatov] Servicemen — both privates and officers — are eager to be withdrawn. But a war has to be finished in a dignified way. Our People's Union for the Revival of the Republic is perhaps the sole organization that offers a specific peaceful way out. Those who say that there is no peaceful solution are bending the truth. Nowhere throughout the world do the military chart ways of political development. In our country, however, this has become commonplace.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Is Zavgayev, however bent he might be on his desire to take up the post of head of the republic as soon as possible, unable adequately to assess the situation?

[Khasbulatov] Unfortunately, currently elements of the former party-administrative system are being restored in Chechnya, and Zavgayev fits in well within this system. He has never been able to make a clear analysis of the situation. Neither in 1990 nor in 1991, when I several times told him that the ground was already burning under his feet. He replied that everything was under control and he held consultations with Gorbachev. This inadequacy did a disservice not only to him, but to our desperate people as well.

I think that the Russian federal authorities and Chernomyrdin should get the lay of the land on their own before giving Zavgayev their backing — if they are interested in resolving this crisis, of course. Sometimes one gets the impression that the federal authorities are interested in keeping up the Chechen conflict, while making it controllable. But I do not think that this conforms with the interests of the Russian Federation.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Who stands behind the provocations and explosions?

[Khasbulatov] It is difficult for me to say. Recently we conducted surveys that produced the following responses. A total of 39 percent think that the warring side bears responsibility for them; 19 percent of those polled think that these acts are on the conscience of the provisional authorities; and 42 percent blame the federal forces for the provocations. I touched on this

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subject during my conversation with Maskhadov, but he assured me that his military units would never commit such baseness.

But the endless confrontation and mutual recriminations add fuel to the fire and create favorable conditions for terrorists. This is evident. There have been no talks for more than two months now, but no one knows about this here because all officials — Lobov and Mikhaylov — keep talking about the talks, even though they were thwarted by the federal side in early October after an attempt on Romanov's life. The situation has also been compounded by the complete absence of any communication between the provisional administration and the resistance movement.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Why does the situation in Chechnya presently continue to deteriorate?

[Khasbulatov] This is very simple to explain. The federal authorities back one side — the provisional administration, while the other side, which currently has the support of about 30 percent of the population behind it, is deemed to be illegal. In the absence of talks this situation cannot but degenerate into a war.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] What will the 17 December elections in Chechnya lead to?

[Khasbulatov] The elections will lead to the emergence of two republics — the Chechen Republic and Ichkeriya. The results will be rigged, there is no doubt about it. But this worries me much less than the possible consequences. These will be fatal. I think that elections should be postponed until a later period of time, and that talks should be resumed immediately.

Chernomyrdin on Chechen Elections

LD1512143895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1415 GMT 15 Dec 95

[By Gennadiy Yezhov and Evald Kessariyskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NIZHNIY NOVGOROD, December 15 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, now visiting Nizhniy Novgorod, commented on Chechnya's elections of its new leader and of the Russian State Duma.

With "special circumstances" of Chechnya in the background, its elections started on Thursday ahead of Russia-wide December 17 legislative elections.

"The elections of the Duma are going on in Chechnya, including in Gudermes," Chernomyrdin said, adding that "the real situation with Gudermes is absolutely different from what Russian mass media are reporting about it."

Zorin: Elections Valid Despite Provocations

LD1612095995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0943 GMT 16 Dec 95

[By Sharip Asuyev, Ruslan Maisigov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, December 16 (ITAR-TASS) — Chechnya's elections may be said to have been valid in principle, Vladimir Zorin, first deputy head of the federal executive administration in Chechnya, told reporters today.

He said the third day of the elections of Chechnya's new leaders and of the Russian State Duma, held ahead of Russia-wide legislative elections, was marked by voting of Chechen elders at home and by voting visits of rural residents to Groznyy.

As for the situation in Gudermes, Urus-Martan and Shatoy, Zorin said rebel activation there was a part of provocations which Dudayev's supporters had been planning after walking out of the Groznyy peace talks on October 12.

It is also a bid to wreck Chechnya's elections and build up tension in Russia on the eve of the December 17 elections to the State Duma, he said.

Rebels started hostilities in Gudermes two and a half hours before the start of the Chechen elections, only to have the counterproductive effect of stimulating the turnout, Zorin said.

Lobov: Moscow Willing To Continue Talks

LD1712151395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — A presidential envoy said on Sunday Moscow was willing to continue talks with all political forces in Chechnya.

But "the main thing is the implementation of the agreements that have already been reached," Oleg Lobov, President Boris Yeltsin's personal envoy to Chechnya, said at one of the polling stations in the Chechen capital Groznyy.

Commenting on recent fighting in the Chechen town of Gudermes, he said: "To some extent we had expected that there would be threats, terrorist acts and attacks on federal troops... The (Chechen) fighters' attack in that town could quickly have been suppressed but this would have led to numerous deaths among the civilian population and to destruction... We hope for the common sense of the side that has carried out the attack so that the conflict is resolved."

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Lobov said current elections for leader of Chechnya and for the State Duma, Russia's lower house of parliament could practically already be considered valid. "Sixty percent of electors in the republic have already taken part in the elections," he said.

Zavgayev: Fighters 'Ousted' From Gudermes

LD1512155795 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1515 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] "Dudayev's men are no longer holding a single facility in Gudermes. They have been ousted from there," Doku Zavgayev, chairman of the government and head of the Chechen republic, told Moscow Echo radio station.

He said the hospital which had come under attack in Gudermes, the only one in the district, had been completely burned to the ground. In Urus-Martan district fighters had seized a school and the Islamic center.

Zavgayev assesses the actions of the fighters as "terror towards the peaceful population: they attack peaceful people, the hospital, in which fortunately there were no patients due to the cold, the railway station."

"They are trying to frighten people, to undermine the elections and the peace process but that is coming to nothing," D. Zavgayev stressed.

Rybakov: Situation in Gudermes Under Control

LD1612223395 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Dec 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today in Chechnya our special correspondent was once again unable to get into Gudermes. But he did manage to visit the heart of the military leadership.

[Correspondent Vladimir Fedilov] [video shows inside of combat control center] This is the combat control center [tsentr boyevogo upravleniya — TsBU] of the interior forces group in Chechnya, the holiest of holies where no television correspondent has set foot until now. The latest information from all over the republic is gathered here. Anatoliy Shkirko, the commander of the joint federal forces in Chechnya, spends the bulk of his working time here at the TsBU. In his absence, the man in charge here is Igor Rybakov, commander of the group of interior troops in Chechnya.

[Begin Rybakov recording] The situation in Gudermes is mainly under the control of federal forces and under the control of our subunits of interior troops. Gudermes is on the whole blocked off and we are observing people leaving. These clearly include fighters whom we are trying to overtake in the main areas. [end recording]

[Fedilov] An officer at the center informed us that federal artillery is working on the center of Gudermes and places where the rebel fighters are supposedly located. The officers claim that resistance among the fighters has nearly been broken. The official number of Russian losses is at present 22. Nothing is yet known on whether any of the civilian population died and what damage has been done in Gudermes itself. Correspondents are still being kept out.

Gudermes Citizens Seen Used as Human Shield

LD1712153995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1457 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS coresspondents Sharip Asuyev, Sergey Trofimov, Ruslan Maysigov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy, 17 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Rebel fighters are trying to use the local people in Gudermes as a human shield, according to information released here on a radio interception by the Federal Security Service in Chechnya.

According to a recording of a radio conversation between Dudayev's Chief of General Staff [Aslan] Maskhadov and field commanders Geliskhanov and Raduyev, who are in charge of the rebels in Gudermes, the latter two men expressed concern over the large number of casualties and the lack of support from the people. They also demanded urgently reinforcements from Maskhadov. At the end of the interception, Geliskhanov angrily said, "I will make the people of Gudermes die with me." Maskhadov, according to the Federal Security Service, ordered field commanders to use women and children to form a corridor along which reinforcements could be sent to them.

Rebels Surround Soldiers in Gudermes

LD1812123695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1125 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sharip Asuyev and Sergey Trofimov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy, 18 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — For a fifth day running, several hundred well-armed fighters continue to surround the commandant's office in Gudermes, where they have over 150 Russian servicemen cut off at the moment. Federal forces stationed on the outskirts of the town are refraining from any active intervention at the moment so as not to jeopardize the lives of townspeople or the surrounded soldiers.

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However, Yevgeniy Blokhin, in charge of communications for the brigade of federal forces which has surrounded Gudermes, told ITAR-TASS that at the request of the besieged servicemen, with whom there is constant radio contact, areas where the fighters are concentrated are being periodically shelled.

ITAR-TASS correspondents, who visited positions occupied by federal troops outside Gudermes on Sunday evening, saw a fire burning in the area of the railway junction. The military say that Dudayev's snipers are active in the town itself.

Residents, who fear that operations to clear the fighters out of Gudermes are about to start, are leaving the town individually or in small groups.

Air Force Begin Flyovers of Urus-Martan

LD1712155095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] URUS-MARTAN, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — Federal troops in Chechnya are not attempting to force Chechen militants out of the republic's Urus-Martan village, but the Russian Air Force began flyovers of the area today.

Chechen militants entered Urus-Martan Thursday.

Armed supporters of Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev told INTERFAX that federal troops had launched only a few artillery attacks towards the village overnight. No other serious clashes were registered between federal troops and Chechen militants over the last 24 hours, Dudayev's supporters said. Shells blew up in a field one kilometer away from the village.

Dudayev's militants reiterated their accusations against the federal authorities of falsifying elections for Chechen head of state in an interview with an INTERFAX correspondent. "War in Chechnya may reopen," they said.

"We have nothing to lose. We will not hand in weapons unless troops are pulled out," a Chechen militant called Khozh-Akhmed said.

Federal troops are continuing to build up supplies at a checkpoint on the western entrance to Groznyy, the Chechen capital, from Urus-Martan, an INTERFAX correspondent reports. The checkpoint's defense has been reinforced with armored vehicles. Trenches are being dug there.

GUOSH in Groznyy 'Heavily Shelled'

LD1712132695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1128 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — The Russian Interior Headquarters (GUOSH) in Chechnya's capital Groznyy were heavily shelled last night, GUOSH has reported, saying that the shelling was conducted from guns and grenade-throwers and caused no casualties among the headquarters staff.

Meanwhile, three explosive devices were defused in Groznyy yesterday. In all, up to 100 booby traps have been defused over the last two weeks, the source said.

Economic Issues

Chernomyrdin: Changes in Economic Life 'Unlikely'

LD1512151195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1456 GMT 15 Dec 95

[By Evald Kessariyskiy and Gennadiy Yezhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NIZHNIY NOVGOROD, December 15 (ITAR-TASS) — "Nothing will change in Russia's economic life after elections to the State Duma next Sunday [17 December]. The new parliament will be formed of mostly the same people," Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said in Nizhniy Novgorod during his visit to the joint-stock company GAZ.

Despite the pre-election turmoil, the Prime Minister expressed the confidence that "everything will go well and 'Russia Is Our Home' bloc will certainly be represented in the parliament." He did not venture, however, to predict how many members of the election bloc he heads will be elected to the Duma. "The main thing is that there should be a high voter turnout. People should not necessarily vote for 'Russia Is Our Home' bloc but they should certainly vote for Russia as our common home," Chernomyrdin said.

Deputy Premier Chubays Hails 1995 Economic Results

MK1612125495 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Elmar Murtazayev: "Anatoliy Chubays Has Celebrated All-Time Low Inflation Rate. First Deputy Premier Has Summed Up 1995 Results"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Addressing a news conference yesterday, Anatoliy Chubays, Russian Federation Government first deputy premier, called this year's economic results complicated and controversial.

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Listing the accomplishments, the first deputy premier mentioned "pronounced signs" of production stabilization — its decline level for this year is forecast at 3-5 percent. Another of the government's obvious assets, Mr. Chubays thinks, is an "all-time low" inflation rate. Thus, he predicts the December inflation level of 3 percent, with the rate ranging from 4 to 1.5 percent monthly in the next quarter.

Furthermore, alongside the strengthening of the Russian ruble, the national gold and hard currency reserves have considerably grown in 1995 (by a factor of 12 as against last year). These indicators, the architect of the current stage of Russian reforms is confident, provide enough reasons to believe that the next year is going to be the first year of economic growth in Russia.

Nonetheless, Mr. Chubays acknowledged that the government has failed to resolve a number of complex economic problems in 1995. Thus, the problem of nonpayment remains unsettled. Owing to the efforts made by the cabinet throughout spring and summer, the level of nonpayment was considerably reduced, but, by December, its amount grew to equal that of the year's start (12 percent of GDP).

The situation in the social sphere is still grave: At the end of the year, about 30 million people in Russia are finding themselves below the poverty line. In this connection, Mr. Chubays mentioned that early in the year the number amounted to 40 million people. Here, too, there have appeared "encouraging signs." Thus, since early spring, a trend toward bridging the gap in the social level of the rich and the poor has been patent, which, in his view, proves once again that inflation is the most effective way of redistributing the national income from the poor to the rich. Thus, by combating inflation, Mr. Chubays concluded, the government is virtually countering the fall of the standard of living of the Russian people.

The passage of the federal budget through the State Duma is also viewed as a positive result of this year. As the first deputy premier put it, this is indicative of "a better understanding of the economic situation by the deputies." Among what was described as strong decisions of the parliament's lower chamber, he mentioned the adopted Civil Code and the Law "On Securities Market." At the same time, the activity of the Duma brought about some negative results, too. Thus, the Law "On Production Sharing" and the Land Code were described by Mr. Chubays as "ineffective."

Production Sharing Bill Said Illegally Amended

MK1612093595 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Svetlana Lolayeva: "Authors of Production Sharing Bill Accuse Sergey Glazyev and Yuriy Boldyrev of Forgery"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The adventures of the draft law "On Production Sharing Contracts," which have been continuing for over four months now, are becoming increasingly scandalous in nature. At yesterday's news conference, Aleksey Melnikov, an author of the bill, and Andrey Konoplyannik, chief of the group of drafters, accused Sergey Glazyev and Yuriy Boldyrev, cochairmen of the commission drawing up a new, coordinated version of the bill, of forgery and falsification. In their words, the night before the vote, Yuriy Boldyrev and Adrian Puzanovskiy, member of the economic policy committee, who introduced the coordinated version of the draft law at the plenary meeting, made amendments, which had not been supported by a majority of the State Duma conciliation committee, to the text of the bill that was submitted to the State Duma for consideration. The deputies, who received the text 20 minutes before the vote, did not have a chance to check it against the final minutes of the conciliation committee meetings. In addition, Mr. Puzanovskiy confused the deputies by saying that votes were recalculated because Vladimir Semago had been recalled from the conciliation committee by the Communist Party faction. As a result, the bill was passed by 242 votes.

After that, it was sent to the State Duma's legal administration for a linguistic and legal expert appraisal. Having checked the text of the law against the final minutes of the conciliation committee meetings, the legal administration removed from the text the amendments on which no coordinated decisions had been made. The next day, however, these amendments were restored at Sergey Glazyev's directive, and Ivan Rybkin signed the draft law and passed it to the Federation Council as amended.

As a result, the bill, which is scheduled to be considered by the Federation Council 19 December and which, in Mr. Melnikov's view, has a good chance of being approved, now includes such notorious provisions as [1] the state's right to unilaterally revise contracts in case of "an essential change in circumstances," [2] the approval of production sharing contracts relating to the use of continental shelf areas in its exclusive economic zone and areas assigned to "special strategic state interests" by the Federal Assembly, and [3] the parliamentary approval of the lists of areas that can be used under production sharing contracts. In the view

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of the authors of the bill, these amendments render it ineffective. Moreover, Mr. Konoplyannik said, since the law was passed through an illegitimate procedure and, therefore, may be revised any time now, if he were an investor, he would not invest billions of dollars and run the risk of losing them.

Yabloko, KRO Rivals Clash Over Production Sharing Law

MK1612152195 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Svetlana Lolayeva: "Sergey Glazyev Accuses Author of Production Sharing Law of Forgery. In His Words, There Was Attempt to Exclude Some Provisions From Law Passed by Duma"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation surrounding the agreed version of the law "On Production Sharing Agreements" passed by the Duma is growing into a scandal. Speaking in a press conference Thursday [14 December], one of the drafters of the law, Aleksey Melnikov, accused Sergey Glazyev and Yuriy Boldyrev, cochairmen of the commission from the State Duma and the Federation Council, of falsifying the results of the work of the conciliation committee owing to which the deputies were submitted a text of the law with amendments that were not supported by a majority of the committee members.

Sergey Glazyev, chairman of the [Duma] Economic Policy Committee and one of the KRO [Congress of Russian Communities] leaders, sent a note to the State Duma ethics commission where he, for his part, assesses as "an attempted forgery of the State Duma-passed law in the interest of commercial organizations, which lobby for its passing," the actions of another drafter of the law, Aleksey Mikhaylov ("Yabloko" faction). In Mr. Glazyev's words, Mr. Mikhaylov, "abusing his office of Economic Policy Committee deputy chairman, undertook to submit for signature to the State Duma chairman a text of the law which does not correspond with the one passed in the State Duma sitting." Mikhaylov's version, Sergey Glazyev pointed out, did not include such important provisions of the law passed by the deputies as "exclusion of customs duties from the list of the taxes and duties from which investors are exempt; an early termination of the right to use mineral deposit plots under court rulings; the reference to the fact that any change in terms of agreements shall be made valid following the same procedure applicable to the original agreements with the exception of the competition procedure; taking account of the fact that control on behalf of the state over the fulfillment of agreements can be exercised not only by the executive branch but also by the legislative branch."

The fact that differences between members of the conciliation committee which came into evidence while the law was being fine-tuned in accordance with the remarks of the upper house, which turned down the Duma version of the draft, have taken the form of public altercations can be explained not only by the importance of the law itself for the country's economy but also by the fact that its passing coincided with the election race. The passing of the law in this or that version is an important stake in the election campaign both for "Yabloko" members, who had the idea for the law, and for Sergey Glazyev, one of the Congress of Russian Communities top three men.

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International Affairs

Kuchma: Business as Usual With Moscow After Elections

LD1512180595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1606 GMT 15 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Leonid Kuchma at a news conference in London on Thursday said he did not expect any policy change in Russia while Boris Yeltsin remained president.

He does not believe the Russian election can in any way affect the situation in Ukraine. Kuchma denied a possible souring of relations with Moscow after Russia's parliamentary election. "We are doing a lot to be able to understand each other," he said adding that "at any rate, Ukraine is doing all it can."

But the president stressed that equal partnership was the only condition for bilateral relations.

On the domestic front, Kuchma referred to the need for continued internal stability implying "stability of policies, legislative basis and government." He said the adoption of the new constitution was expected to help towards what he called "macrostability."

On the diplomatic front, Kuchma pledged Kiev's non-involvement in any military blocs on the grounds that "even our very statement of intent to join NATO could become a factor of instability in Europe." He reaffirmed Ukraine's wish to remain a neutral state and serve as a bridge to link West and East.

On the Balkans, the president announced government plans to take an active part in postwar reconstruction in Bosnia-Herzegovina once the Paris agreement was signed. He spoke of substantial economic damage sustained by his country from UN sanctions against Belgrade though saying Kiev was well aware of how complex the problem was and did not want to raise the issue of compensation.

At the same time, Kuchma said proper conditions must be set for Ukrainian participation and called on Ukrainian diplomats to intensify effort. He also spoke of getting British support for Kiev's involvement in implementing the Dayton accords. IF NOTE: Ukrainian Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko led an official delegation to the London conference on postwar reconstruction in Bosnia-Herzegovina early this month. Ukraine is also invited to take part a similar forum, but on the expert level, opening in Brussels on December 21.

Ukraine and Britain signed a joint declaration and two agreements including a memorandum of understanding on confiscation of illegal property.

Speaking after a reception by Queen Elizabeth on Thursday, Kuchma said "I am inspired by this meeting and I now understand why the Queen is so much respected in Britain."

The Ukrainian leader returned home late on Thursday.

Speaking at the end of the London summit, presidential chief of staff Dmytro Tabachnik said Britain had now passed to active cooperation with Ukraine as indicated by Kuchma's meetings with British political and business world.

He said the joint declaration the two countries had signed "indicates a new phase in bilateral cooperation."

He also praised a range of loan agreements signed with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development including those aimed at promoting small and private business. Tabachnik said the latest agreement may well make Ukraine the second large recipient of EBRD aid.

He reaffirmed the Bosnian peace settlement was also on the agenda of the London summit adding that the Ukrainian security council would discuss the deployment of Ukrainian peacekeepers in Bosnia at its next session.

Effect of Russian Election on Ukraine Viewed

WS1812102995 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0221 GMT 17 Dec 95

[By Oles Tereschenko, "Special to INTELNEWS"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Dec. 16. The differing perspectives on Sunday's [17 December] election to the Russian State Duma of actual citizens of Russia in Ukraine and those who simply call themselves Russians are telling.

Those with the right to vote (mainly military employees who serve ships and objects of the Black Sea Fleet [BSF]), are pessimistic. Two years ago they voted for the Liberal-Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, hoping he would be able to preserve the unity of the fleet. These hopes were in vain, however - the BSF's division is a reality. Units are being disbanded, and Russians are being transferred to Russia. These see their future skeptically and doubt that their participation in elections will change the situation of "forgotten Russian people" for the better.

The carriers of the "Russian idea" without citizenship, by contrast, are hoping that the new Duma will be able to change the foreign policy course of Russia. According to the chairman of Russian Culture Society in Crimea, Vladimir Kazarin, Crimeans want a leader in the Duma

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who will go beyond protection of the rights of Russians abroad and will seek "revival of the lost motherland."

The past year has seen a weakening of the separatist movement in Crimea. Instead, reunification with Russia is now seen as possible only together with Ukraine in a new union.

Because of this, pro-Russian politicians expect more from Communists in Sunday's vote than from the leading nationalist party, the Congress of Russian Communities [CRC].

But both of these, despite their huge popularity in Crimea, have weaknesses. The CRC's is its unrealistic idea of "supporting Russian speaking populations." This idea is hypothetical and has few chances for implementation.

Gradual, voluntary restoration of the union, for which communists stand, is more attractive for voters of Crimea. But the idea of revising the current Russian constitution to include a "union policy" is out of the hands of the not-yet-elected Duma.

The neo-communists, who consider themselves more Soviet than Russian, could hardly become the exponents of the Russian national idea of "gathering lands."

Time will tell how quickly rightists and leftists will be able to unite in the new Duma around their common interest, restoring some form of Russian-centered union on the territory of the former USSR. The outcome is critical for the Russian movement in Crimea.

While Russian citizens in Ukraine can hardly influence the result of the Russian elections (because of their small number), opinions about how these results may influence Ukraine vary.

President Leonid Kuchma doesn't expect the external political course of Russia to change after the election. After all, he says, foreign policy is the prerogative of the President of Russia. As long as Boris Yeltsin is in this post, Kuchma doesn't expect cardinal changes in relations between Ukraine and Russia.

But even assuming the Duma has a voice in foreign policy, things are unlikely to change. Every party and faction in Russia today stands for "changing Russian-Ukrainian relations for the better," although the candidates prefer to ignore the fact that their positions are identical.

They all speak instead about restoring "brother", "sister" or simply "friendly" ties by the method of all-sided integration. So, attempts by Russia's parliament to correct the "near abroad" policy with the purpose of creating a united state will not depend much upon the political color of the majority in the next Duma.

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